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U. S. VERSUS SOVIET APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

Moscow NOVAYA I NOVEYSHAYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 81 pp 3-20

[Article by Natal'ya Nikolayevna Novoselova, a scientific worker in the Basic Research Laboratory for the Systems Analysis of International Relations at the Moscow State University of Foreign Relations of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs specializing in the area of postwar U.S. foreign policy and the author of a number of articles on this subject: "The USSR and the United States: Two Contradictory Approaches to the Problem of International Security"]

[Excerpt] The Seventies have demonstrated the correctness of the policy of relaxation and limiting the arms race, which has been conducted by the USSR and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth as a means to insure international security. L. I. Brezhnev has declared: "We were able by our authority and our policy to affect the international climate and make it less severe. Ten years of international relations have been developed under the sign of relaxation. This is the most valuable achievement of the Seventies. It is the fruit of the persistent and combined efforts of the Soviet Union, the fraternal countries of socialism, and all of today's sober-minded forces."

However, a serious worsening in the international situation occurred on the frontier between the Seventies and the Eighties due to the fault of imperialism's aggressive forces. The ruling circles of the United States entered on the path of repudiating a number of treaties and agreements, which had been concluded with the Soviet Union, and began to unfold a new and dangerous turn in the arms race. In Washington, they have been possessed again by doctrines and concepts which magnify the threat of unleashing a nuclear war. The danger of disrupting the military equality on the European continent has arisen as a result of the decision to deploy new American missiles in Western Europe and the development of militaristic programs by the NATO military bloc. Imperialism's subversive activity against the countries of the socialist commonwealth, in particular against Poland, has been increased. Tension has grown in the Near, Middle and Far East and in Southeast Asia.

The West's policy is again openly counting on military force as the main instrument for carrying out the foreign policy goals of the imperialist powers. The conclusions of bourgeois specialists in international relations about the so-called "paradox of forces", the impossibility of directly using imperialism's

nuclear missile capability in the struggle against socialism, have been forgotten. Military force is regarded by the leaders of the imperialist world as a resource with whose help they are striving to stabilize the position of capitalism.

The Soviet-American military parity, which imposes serious limitations on their conduct in the international arena, does not suit U. S. imperialists in any way. In achieving military superiority, the ruling circles of the United States see a way to strengthen the positions of American imperialism. Retired American Admiral E. Zumwalt expressed the credo of these circles as follows: "The one who possesses superiority in strategic nuclear power, has an opportunity to coerce others and to achieve his goals."

As was clear from President Carter's message to Congress in January 1980, the United States is prepared "to pay any price which is required" in order to be "the most powerful country".

The new administration has gone even further along this path, demonstrating the intention of American imperialism to give battle to the forces of progress and peace and to turn back the objective process of the historic transformations in the world having used imperialism's gigantic military machine for political pressure and blackmail and even for its direct use. A special section was devoted in the pre-election platform of the Republican Party to the problem of "national security". Having accused the Carter administration of clearly allowing the United States to fall behind the USSR in the military sphere, the platform's authors assigned the goal of "achieving general military and technological superiority over the Soviet Union". In this connection, they proposed to increase military appropriations and expenditures considerably in the near future and to "begin a massive build-up of conventional and nuclear weapons".

Reagan expressed himself in a similar vein when he assumed the position of U.S. president 20 January 1981. He declared: "We will maintain sufficient power in order to prevail if this will be necessary".

And actually, from the first days of its time in office, the Reagan administration has counted on achieving military superiority over the USSR, changing the military strategic equality, which has taken shape in the world, in its favor, on aggravating international tensions; on increasing confrontations with the USSR everywhere and at all levels; and on maintaining its position of undisputed leadership in the capitalist world.

Considerable changes in the draft federal budget for fiscal year 1982, which had been presented to Congress by the Carter administration, were made by the new administration. In accordance with the Reagan administration's proposals, it is planned to bring U. S. military expenditures to 188.8 billion dollars this year and in the next five years they will reach the astronomical sum of 1.5 trillion dollars. By 1986, the military budget will more than double reaching 368 billion dollars.

Just as before, Washington has chosen the mythical "intensification of the threat to the national security of the United States" as the main motive for justifying the revival of a power approach to world affairs. A certain "indecisiveness" in the Carter administration -- as a consequence of which, as Secretary of Defense C. Weinberger has declared, the United States "is not in

condition to control events and prevent the origin of events, which, as we feel, seriously threaten our national interest" -- is being announced as the reason for the "critical position" of the United States. If one were to judge from the statements of this same Weinberger, the sphere of actions of U.S. "national interest" is being expanded even to places remote from America -- Angola, South Yemen, and Ethiopia. In expressing dissatisfaction with the actions of the previous administration in the so-called crisis areas, Weinberger states that the possibility of using military power in these areas ought to have been foreseen."

President Reagan's administration considers the unrestrained build-up of military power to be the only recipe for the "survival" of the United States or in other words for the conduct of a policy of global expansionism. As is evident from many official announcements, the White House intends to act in this same key with respect to limiting arms. In one of the editions of the magazine UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT it is said: "In assigning a retired general and the former commander - in-chief of NATO's armed forces to head the State Department, Reagan dramatically emphasized the stress on military force in foreign policy The new administration's more muscular approach to world affairs is clearly reflected in its conduct of negotiations with Russia on arms control. From now on, they will not be regarded as an end in themselves. A failure to work out a strategic arms limitation treaty will not evoke any anxiety."

As a preliminary condition for the beginning of negotiations with the USSR, the Reagan administration considers it necessary -- as the U.S. secretary of defense has declared -- to "demonstrate clearly the determination to increase American power considerably in the area of strategic weapons". In June 1981, Reagan emphasized that the creation of "the nation's military arsenal" must precede the renewal of arms control negotiations with the USSR. It is necessary to regard in this context the U.S. administration's decision on full scale production of the neutron weapon -- the most inhumane type of weapon of mass destruction -- which was taken in August of this year.

In trying to insure imperialism's military superiority, the ruling circles of the United States are following a policy of whipping up the arms race practically everywhere in the world -- from the Chinese People's Republic to the Republic of South Africa, from Norway to Pakistan. The magazine NEWSWEEK has pointed out that the heart of Haig's foreign policy course is "the containment of Russian expansionism in the Third World". Covering itself with this screen, the United States is increasing its military assistance to Pakistan and other countries who are following the lead of the American policy. However, the "strengthening of security" by -- using the expression of the NEW YORK TIMES neswpaper -- "buying friendship instead of weapons" is evoking serious anxiety in the United States itself. This same newspaper warns the American ruling circles that this "will involve the United States in regional conflicts, for example, between India and Pakistan; or will tie the United States to a government which does not have a firm support in its own country".

However, they are not paying attention in the White House to the shattering failure of the plans of previous administrations to strengthen U.S. "security"

by militarizing "reliable" regimes. Under the cover of general discussions about "national security" and "national interests", the Reagan administration is demonstrating its desire to oppose any progressive changes in the world and to discredit the peaceloving foreign policy of the USSR and the other fraternal socialist countries.

A ponderable reply to these fabrications of the U. S. leadership was the USSR Supreme Soviet's appeal "To the Parliaments and Peoples of the World" in which it is said: "The USSR Supreme Soviet solemnly declares that the Soviet Union threatens no one and is not yearning for a confrontation with any state in the West or in the East. The Soviet Union has not achieved and is not achieving military superiority. It has not been and will not be the initiator of new twists in the arms race. There is no type of weapon which it would not agree to limit or to ban on a mutual basis in accordance with an agreement with other states. Insuring peace has been, is and will remain the highest goal of the Soviet government's policy".

Whereas President Reagan's administration considers it permissable to expand the sphere of U. S. "security" interests far beyond its borders, the USSR and the other socialist countries proceed from fundamentally different conceptual understandings. In reply to these interpretations of the oncept of "national interests" by the ruling circles of the United States, Z. P. Samoletova, a deputy to the USSR Supreme Soviet, said during a speech at the Fifth Session of the Supreme Soviet in June 1981: "In contrast to those claiming world domination, the zone of our 'vital interest' does not extend beyond the limits of our state borders".

It is quite evident that the content, which American administrations are investing in the concepts "national security" and "national interest", has nothing in common with the goals of preventing a nuclear war and achieving true international security and peace.

As Western international affairs experts admit, reliance on military force is not an appropriate policy for relations with the Soviet Union. They recall that Nixon in his time was plastered with criticism during the 1968 election campaign for the idea of parity and called for the restoration of "the undisputed nuclear superiority" of the United States. When he arrived in the White House however, he was forced to recognize this parity. President Carter also had to take into consideration the reality of international life and change — using an expression of Western experts — "his idealistic picture of the world".14

The betting on military power methods to "strengthen security" is evoking growing opposition in U. S. political and scientific circles. The publication entitled "Setting National Priorities: Agenda for the 1980's" which was issued by the Brookings Institute -- which is influential in the United States -- was a reflection of the anxiety of sober- minded figures. One of its authors, W. Kaufman -- a former consultant to Secretary of Defense R. McNamara points out that "the problems of the Eighties will not be ammenable to military solutions... Military force cannot be a sufficient method for maintaining international stability". He calls upon the U. S. leadership "to elevate its policy above

momentary considerations" and to resist the dangerous desire "to return to a power confrontation" with the USSR. Just as Kaufman, H. Sonnenfeldt -- a former advisor to Secretary of State H. Kissinger -- warns Washington against frantic anti-Sovietism and attempts to assign itself the unrealistic goals of weakening the USSR's positions in all areas of the world since "such a task is not within the power of the United States and does not even answer American interests". The semi-official American organ -- the UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT weekly has written that political and economic, factors are "forcing the administration to develop a dialogue with Russia".

The problem, which comes down to the need to develop serious ideas about the place and role of the United States in the world and about realistic ways to insure its national and international security, will rise sooner or later to its full height in front of the Reagan administration.

Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, has emphasized: "Reagan will have to have dealings with a Soviet Union which is even more powerful than before. He will have to deal with that same Soviet Union which has not permitted a new great war to blaze up since the end of the Second World War; with that same Soviet Union whose policy of peace and relaxation has prevented limited wars from growing into a general war; and with that same Soviet Union whose policy has permitted oppressed colonial people to achieve freedom and not undergo destruction. This policy and the Soviet Union's prestige and influence, which are growing tremendously, will from now on be the most important factor in the world arena with which the Reagan government will have to deal. Faced with these realities a considerable portion of the monopolistic capital of the United States already does not support and does not believe in the concept according to which a military confrontation with the Soviet Union is a sensible alternative."

In spite of the recent strengthening in the United States of the trend toward a return to the pre-eminence of force as a way to insure national security, the advocates of maintaining relaxation, limiting arms and disarmament see the fatal consequences of a "power approach" both for the national security of the United States and for international security on the whole. There are quite a few sober-minded people among those who are determining the policy of the capitalist countries today. They understand that betting on force and war in relations with the socialist countries is madness today. Speaking at Harvard University, Thomas Watson, the former U. S. Ambassador to the USSR, said that not victory but general war and total destruction will be the result of any use of a nuclear weapon. Therefore, it is necessary to strive for the continuation of SALT negotiations and for the Gonclusion of a series of mutually The newspaper NEWSDAY has pointed out verifiable treaties on this subject. the absurdity of continuously increasing appropriations for military purposes: "The more money we spend on war, the less is our security insured!".

The intensive arms race, which is being supported by the imperialists, and the development of methods and ways to use them are destabilizing the entire system of international relations, vitally affecting the important interests of

every country, and are one of the main obstacles on the path to establishing a system of international relations which would be based on the principles of justice, equality, independence, and cooperation, i.e., which would answer the true interests of all people.

The "power concept" of national security basically serves as the justification and basis for the political, economic, and military expansionism of U. S. imperialism, for its interference in the affairs of other countries, and for its maintenance of the arms race. The so-called "Carter Doctrine", which was stated by him on 4 J..nuary 1980 and which is permeated with the spirit of the "cold war", serves as a graphic illustration of this.

In particular, it speaks about U. S. readiness to use everything -- even up to military force -- for the sake of defending the "vital interests of America" in the Persian Gulf and other areas of the world. In pointing out the dangerous essence of this idea, L. I. Brezhnev characterized it in a speech on 28 October 1980 as a "vicious vogue" in U. S. policy: "At every trifle -- to move fleets and intensify military activity there where restrict is more appropriate. A revolution in Iran-- they send a fleet to its shores and try to secure new bases near at hand. A conflict between Iran and Iraq -- they send new ships into the Persian Gulf and plead even more zealously for bases. In a word, the choice is made each time in favor of gross pressure and blackmail. This only aggravates tensions."

The main thing which American strategists would like to achieve with the help of force in the situation which has taken shape in the area of the Persian Gulf is to seize control over the oil riches of this region, legitimize their military presence there, and prevent any changes which allegedly would threaten "America's vital interests". L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in the report to the 26th CPSU Congress: "They are spreading a version of the 'Soviet threat' to the oil riches of the Near and Middle East or to the oil supply lines as a justification for these actions. It is a deliberately false version since its authors well know that the USSR does not plan to encroach either on the one or the other. It is generally absurd to think that it is possible to "defend" the West's oil interests by transforming this region into a powder magazine".

The "power concept" of national security is fraught with dangerous consequences. The arms race is developing along a spiral whose each subsequent turn has the tendency to end with the establishment of a new approximate equality of forces but at a higher level which actually destabilizes the military strategic balance more than the previous turn and thereby increases the risk of a war breaking out. Any type of weapon, developed in the United States, can be discovered and put into production by other states. As A. Harriman rightfully pointed out, under such a condition "we will have in the final analysis not superiority but an endless arms race".

The arguments of the zealous supporters of the "power concept" of national security in the United States, who have come out in favor of achieving military superiority over the USSR supposedly for better control over armaments, are also bankrupt. In the words of A. Harriman, "it would be doubly stupid to consider that an arms race which has the goal of achieving superiority would lead to the establishment of more reliable control over them".

The so-called "new nuclear strategy" or the doctrine of "limited" nuclear war which the carter government proposed during the last year of its term in office, has a special danger within the framework of the "power concept" of national security. L. 1. Brezhnev has pointed out: "They want to instill in people that allegedly a nuclear way can be 'imited; they want to accustom them to the thought of the permissability of such a war. However, this is an outright deception of the people! You see, a 'limited' nuclear war -- according to the American understanding -- in Europe for example would mean the certain death of European civilization at the very beginning. Yes, and the United States itself would not be able, of course, to stand aside from the flames of war".

It is also necessary to point out the permicious influence of the "power concept" of national security on U. S. internal problems. In connection with the Reagan administration's plan to spend 1.5 trillion dollars during the next five years for military purposes, the magazine NEWSWEEK wrote: "Military expenditures of such a scale during the Vietnam war sowed the seeds of inflation which is still haunting the nation. This time, the debauchery of military expenditures will be accompanied not only by a decrease in expenditures for domestic needs but also by a fair amount of decrease in tax revenues. This will make the struggle against inflation even more difficult. These enormous expenditures for military purposes threaten to divert resources from the production area and will probably hurt industrial recovery". R. Barnet, a well known American researcher on international relations warns that the increase in expenditures for purchasing weapons, in fact, undermines U.S. national security since it diverts the resources necessary for solving such problems as the American dependence on foreign oil. "Weapons cannot produce energy, they cannot assure access to it". He has called Washington's desire to arm itself the result of nostalgia for a time which will never return.

The strengthening of security and disarmament are two parallel and interconnected processes aimed at maintaining and strengthening peace. Disarmament would be the decisive contribution to the cause of strengthening both international and national security. In its turn, the establishment of an effective international security system would contribute to a great degree to the carrying out of the disarmament process. Disarmament and security are interconnected with each other: Progress in one of these areas directly or indirectly contributes to progress in the other.

This principle was confirmed and made more precise in the final document of the 10th UN General Assembly Special Session which was held in May - June 1978. It says in it: "The taking of steps in the field of disarmament must be done on a just and balanced basis so that the right of each state to security is assured and so that no one state or group of states would be able to receive an advantage over other states during some stage. During each stage, the goal must be not to inflict damage on security while lowering the level of weapons and armed forces as much as possible".

Another principle, which was first formulated by the USSR and the United States during their joint work on the treaties pertaining to limiting strategic weapons, is integrally connected with this principle. During the work on SALT,

they affirmed that the disarmament negotiations between them were based on "the principle of equality and equal security". In the latest of these documents -- The Joint Declaration on the Principles and Basic Directions of Subsequent Negotiations on Limiting Strategic Weapons -- which was signed in Vienna on 18 June 1979, the USSR and the United States agreed to discuss additional steps to "insure the equality and equal security" of both sides. Thereby, important international legal principles, which insure national and general security in the best way and which create real opportunities for restraining the arms race, were formulated.

Despite this, however, the tempo of the arms race has continued to considerably outstrip the efforts which are being taken by the USSR and the other countries of the socialist commonwealth to restrain it. This has been caused to a considerable degree by the Carter administration's return to the "power concept" of national security and by its attempts to achieve unilateral advantages at the expense of the Soviet Union. L. I. Brezhnev has pointed out: "Unfortunately, even after the change of leadership in the White House openly bellicose calls and declarations, seemingly specially intended to poison the atmosphere of relations between our countries, are being heard from Washington. I would nevertheless, hope that those, who are determining America's policy today, will be able to look at things more realistically in the final analysis. The military strategic balance which has taken shape between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO objectively serves the preservation of peace on our planet".

The USSR, in contrast to the United States, has been and remains a firm and consistent advocate of relaxing international tensions and of disarmament measures. Faithful to this policy, the Soviet Union is doing everything possible for success in the area of arms limitation and reduction and is coming forward as the initiator of many constructive proposals in various international forums. It is persistent in achieving progress on the question of strengthening the policy of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. The USSR's firm position brought to naught the attempts of some countries during the second conference to review the operation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of nuclear weapons (1980) to weaken its propositions which proved its effectiveness in practice.

The multilateral Vienna negotiations on reducing armed forces and weapons in Central Europe have been in a blind alley for many years now due to the fault of the United States and its NATO allies. In trying to overcome the resistance of their Western partners to moving the matter forward, the Soviet Union and the socialist states who are taking part in the negotiations made the latest new proposal in July and Autumn of 1980. This initiative provides for a decrease of 13,000 U.S. servicemen and 20,000 Soviet servicemen besides that military contingent which the USSR had earlier withdrawn from the GDR in a unilateral move (20,000 soldiers and officers, 1000 tanks and other military equipment). However, despite these concrete steps in the direction of real European disarmament the United States and its NATO allies on their part are — as before — not expressing a readiness to move to practical actions, counting on the success of their attempts to obtain unilateral advantages to the detriment of the security interest of the Warsaw Treaty states.

The Soviet Union has always regarded with understanding the proposals of those states which provide for the creation of peace zones or nuclear weapons free zones in various regions of the world, considering that these regional measures for military relaxation decrease the danger of a nuclear war, contribute to improving the international situation on the whole and abet the strengthening of peace and security on global scales. The USSR has actively supported the initiative of the developing countries to transform the Indian Ocean into a peace zone. In this matter, it has proceeded from the fact that the complete and unconditional elimination of all foreign military bases in this region and the refusal to create new ones is the decisive precondition for creating such a zone. For this purpose, the Soviet Union entered into negotiations with the United States in June 1977 on limiting and subsequently reducing all military activity. When a certain degree of agreement on a number of questions began to appear during the negotiations in February 1978, the United States unilaterally broke them off and has since refused to renew them despite the repeated suggestions of the USSR. When it broke off negotiations, Washington entered onto the path of a forced build-up of its military presence in the Indian Ocean. The Carter administration used the events in Iran and Afghanistan as well as those in the Persian Gulf area as a pretext to justify its own military activity, which was unprecedented in its scale and intensity, in the Indian Ocean basin, having arbitrarily declared this region to be a "sphere of its own national interest".

The United States began a speedy expansion of the military naval and air base on the island of Diego Garcia, ignoring along with England the demands of Mauritius for the restoration of its sovereignty over this island. Steps were taken by it to create an entire network of military bases in Somalia, Kenya and Oman with a parallal increase in military deliveries to these and other countries in the region. This only led to an additional aggravation of the tension in the Indian Ocean basin. At the same time, the United States began to improve and expand its bases in Australia and Southeast Asia where it is trying to form -- in partnership with the Beijing hegemonists -- a new military bloc based on the ASEAN group of nations. It was pointed out in a TASS declaration that the ruling circles of the United States have recently begun to follow a policy where "not only individual countries but also entire continents are declared zones of 'vital interest' to the United States which is not halting its pursuit of newer and newer military bases in the developing countries and which is trying to dictate -- under the gun barrels of its naval armadas -- to the independent states how they should act and what way of life they should adhere to".

Just as in the matter of converting the Indian Ocean into a peace zone, the United States unilaterally halted negotiations with the USSR concerning antisatellite systems and limiting the arms trade.

The new peace initiatives, which were put forward by the USSR and its allies in the Warsaw Treaty Organization in their 15 May 1980 declaration, and the broad complex of measures to strengthen peace and security and to normalize the international situation which was proposed by them during the 35th UN General Assembly Session in the autumn of 1980, were an important contribution in the struggle for international security. Guided by the desire to support relaxation now when it is being subjected to serious tests, the Soviet Union has proposed

Danger" on the General Assembly sessions's agenda as a pressing and important question, and it has offered a corresponding draft resolution for its discussion. One of the measures suggested by the USSR in this direction is the refusal of states, which have entered into military alliances, to expand the existing military political groupings by adding new members. In this respect, it is provided that all states, without exception, must avoid any actions which would lead to the creation of new military alliances or to the attachment of military functions to regional organizations. Another new Soviet proposal provides that, starting with 1 January 1981, all states -- especially the permanent members of the Security Council and the countries allied with them by military agreements -- adopt for themselves the obligation not to increase their military forces and conventional weapons after a certain date as a first step toward their subsequent reduction.

In addition to introducing new proposals, the Soviet Union has called upon the states of the world to intensify their efforts on all the main avenues in the struggle for peace, security, disarmament, and relaxation. In a speech to the plenary session of the UN General Assembly, A. A. Gromyko, the USSR minister of foreign affairs, recalled the unrealized UN resolutions and the important proposals of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; and stated his views concerning more effective ways to search for the necessary solutions. The Soviet position on this series of questions was stated in the memorandum "For Peace and Disarmament, For the Guarantee of International Security" which was presented to the session.

During the 36th Session of the UN General Assembly, the head of the Soviet Union delegation, A. A. Gromyko, introduced for discussion a new series of peace initiatives which were directed at controlling the arms race which has been unleashed by imperialism, at insuring firm and just peace and international security, and at preserving and strengthening the relaxation of international tensions. The draft of the political document "Averting a Nuclear Catastrophe" which was presented by the Soviet Union to the UN General Assembly and which calls upon the world association to prevent mankind from slipping into a nuclear disaster, has special significance. During the Soviet-American contacts which took place during A. A. Gromyko's stay in New York, an agreement with the United States was achieved on holding negotiations concerning medium range nuclear systems. As L. I. Brezhnev declared in a discussion with D. Ratsiraka, the president of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, on 1 October 1981, the Soviet Union is ready to conduct these negotiations seriously, honestly, and constructively, strictly adhering to the principle of the equality and equal security of the sides.

The Soviet Union attaches a great deal of importance to the reduction of the military budgets of states possessing a large military and economic potential. In this connection, it considers it necessary to begin discussions without delay on the specific dimensions of these reductions—whether expressed in percentages or in absolute numbers—as a first step toward any starting period which would be acceptable to everyone.

The socialist states are staunch advocates of the policy of maintaining and strengthening security in Europe and of lowering the level of military opposition

on the continent. The Soviet peace initiatives, which were approved by the 26th CPSU Congress and which -- as B. N. Ponomarev, a candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, points out -- "affect practically all regions of the world and all, so to speak, 'hot spots' and which point out the way to solve and avert the most dangerous international conflicts, were a clear witness to this. We are talking about not only ways to overcome existing conflicts but also about any type of international prevention". The Peace Program for the Eighties, which was put forward by the 26th CPSU Congress, contains specific proposals which are aimed at regulating the sharpest and most pressing problems in the interest of the peace and security of all people. The report to the 26th CPSU Congress pointed out that: "the struggle to decrease the threat of war and to control the arms race has been and remains the pivotal direction in the foreign policy activity of the party and the state. This task has acquired special importance and urgency at the present time. The fact is that rapid and profound changes are taking place in the development of military equipment. Qualitatively new types of weapons, especially weapons of mass destruction, are being developed. These types are such that they make controlling them -- and this also means an agreed limitation on them -- a task which is exceptionally difficult and even impossible. The new stage in the arms race will undermine interpational stability and will increase the danger of a war arising quite a bit".

Having affirmed that an approximate equality both in the area of strategic nuclear weapons and in the overall number of armed forces has taken shape between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Treaty countries and the NATO countries, the CPSU Central Committee pointed out in its report to the 26th CPSU Congress: "We have not achieved and are not achieving military superiority over any side. This is not our policy. However, we will not permit such a superiority to be created over us. Such attempts and discussions with us from a position of strength have absolutely no future!" Taking into consideration the complexity of the international situation and the growing danger of a new war, the 26th CPSU Congress supplemented the Peace Program which was proclaimed by the 24th and 25th party congresses, with new large-scale ideas and proposals. Their goal is the radical improvement of the climate of international relations, the elimination of the threat of war, and the insurance of people's freedom and security.

We are talking primarily about the fact that it is necessary to move forward seriously to carry out measures to strengthen trust in the military sphere. The Soviet Union has expressed the readiness to spread these measures throughout its European part provided there is a corresponding expansion of their zone of application by the Western states also. At the same time, the USSR has been ready to conduct concrete negotiations on confidence measures in such an important and restless area as the Far East where the USSR, China and Japan are neighbors and where there are U.S. military bases. It has declared its readiness to continue without delay discussions with the United States, preserving all that is positive in what has been achieved in the cause of limiting and reducing strategic weapons, and in decreasing the level of any other type of weapon.

The USSR is proposing to establish a moratorium in Europe on the employment of new medium range nuclear missile systems by the NATO countries and the Soviet Union, i.e., to freeze the existing level of these systems, including -- of course -- the forward based American nuclear systems in this region -- to freeze the existing level both in a qualitative and in a quantitative respect.

Finally, we are also talking about such measures, which are directed toward improving the situation, as the creation of an international authoritative committee composed of the most prominent scientists from different countries who would demonstrate to all mankind the vital need to avert a nuclear catastrophe and the calling of a special session of the Security Council with the participation of the highest leaders of the Council's member states and the leaders of other states, based on their desire, in order to find the key to improving the international situation. When receiving Kurt Waldheim, the UN Secretary General, who was in the Soviet Union on an official visit on 5 May 1981, L. I. Brezhnev, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, affirmed the immutability of the Soviet Union's support for the United Nations Organization's efforts which are directed toward insuring international security and toward developing cooperation between states in accordance with the propositions of the UN Charter.

Positive experience from the past testifies that it is possible to solve the most complicated problems during constructive negotiations. Examples of this are the Treaty to Limit Anti-Ballistic Missile Systems (ABM, 1972), the protocol to it (1974), the Temporary Agreement on Certain Measures in the Field of Limiting Strategic Weapons (SALT-I, 1972), the Agreement to Prevent a Nuclear War (1973), the Treaty on Limiting Underground Nuclear Weapons Tests (1974), the protocol to it, and finally, the Treaty on Limiting Strategic Offensive Weapons (SALT-2), the protocol to it, the Joint Declaration on the Principles and Basic Directions of Subsequent Negotiations To Limit Strategic Weapons which were signed in Vienna in 1979. As A. A. Gromyko, the USSR minister of foreign affairs, has pointed out, the SALT-2 Treaty was a large step which could be "an effective barrier on the path of further building up the most destructive and expensive types of weapons".

Unfortunately, the Carter administration, citing the unsuitable international situation, postponed ratification of the SALT-2 Treaty. The new American administration, which replaced it in January 1981, cast doubt upon the possibility of this treaty entering into effect in its present form. It is being maintained that it supposedly infringes upon the security interest of the United States. Under the appearance of "improving" the SALT-2 Treaty, ammendments are being put forward which essentially undermine the carefully adjusted balance of the two countries' interests which form its basis. The desire of the United States to ensure a one-sided advantage for itself is being demonstrated again. Naturally, the Soviet Union will never agree to this.

The enemies of SALT-2 constantly talk about "the Soviet superiority" in strategic weapons. In touching upon these fables which have as their goal the justification of a new round of the arms race in the United States, Marshal of the Soviet Union N. V. Ogarkov, the chief of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces, declared:

"Some American figures, who know the condition of the side's strategic offensive weapons, are deliberately and grossly distorting the actual ratio of forces between the USSR and the United States".

The NATO decision to deploy new American medium range missiles in Western Europe is leading to a disruption of the military strategic balance. It is actually directed at undermining military relaxation in Europe without which it is impossible to ensure international security. Europe's security is being sacrificed to the Pentagon's insatiable appetite.

As L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in a speech in Tbilisi on 22 May 1981, NATO's plans are in no way responsive to the security interest of the Europeans. The question of limiting and even decreasing nuclear missile weapons in Europe on the basis of a balance of forces and the observance of the principle of equality can be and must be resolved by negotiations. "At the same time, I must declare with all responsibility: we cannot let the deployment of new American nuclear missile weapons aimed at the USSR and our allies, go without any reaction from us. In this event, we will be forced to think about additional defensive measures. If necessary, we will find impressive systems to protect our vital interests. Let the NATO planners not complain then.

"However, I repeat this is not our choice. A peace, based on mutual terror, is not attractive to us. We prefer a peace under which the level of weapons becomes lower and lower and the scale and quality of cooperation in all areas grow and improve ".

The Soviet Union is in favor of agreements which are capable of lessening the sharpness of the military opposition of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty. In particular, the proposal to convene a conference on military relaxation and disarmament in Europe serves these goals.

The American magazine UNITED STATES NEWS AND WORLD REPORT wrote on 16 March 1981: "Reagan is striving to lead the United States forward in the strategic arms race, restore the American naval superiority and enter on the path to a more aggressive strategy". The plans to "restore a clear American superiority" as the "highest priority of Reagan's military policy" will cost the American people dearly. In an interview with V. Leontiev, an American economist and Nobel prize winner, which was published in that same edition, it is said that the tremendous jumps in the U.S. military expenditures will mean higher inflation growth rates, a deficit in the balance of payments and unemployment. He declared: "We must remember that today's American economic problems to an enormous degree can trace their beginning back to the tremendous military expansion during the period of the Vietnam war. Inflation was born then, the dollar began to grow sick then, the government showed a gigantic budget deficit to the world then, and our balance of payments began to show a liability then. We are now paying for our shortsightedness. If we enter onto the path of those same errors, the Eighties will bring an increase in calamities."

Realistically thinking Western scientists and politicans are not concerned only about the economic consequences of the gigantic build-up in the arms race. They understand that security cannot be assured by building up military forces. The

authors of the monograph "American Security Policy and the Development of the Policy", which was published in 1980, admit that "the concept of security is wider than military capabilities". In another American book "Opredelyaya Natsional'nyye Prioritety" [Setting National Priorities] it is pointed out "The problems of the Eighties will not be susceptible to military solutions Military force cannot be a reliable condition for maintaining international stability". C. Vance, a former U.S. secretary of state who resigned as a sign of disagreement with the foreign policy course of the Carter administration, has warned that "it would be naive to suppose that the USSR would permit America to rush forward". He said that the reliance on military power and the "attempts to replace diplomacy with it distract from constructive searches and appear to be stupid".

Harvard University Professor S. Hoffman, an American specialist on international relations, in criticizing the adherents of the "power approach" to the problem of insuring "national security" who are calling for "a build-up and demonstration of the muscle" of American military forces, noted like a viper in his presentation to a U.S. Senate commission that the reason for Washington's foreign policy failures is connected "not with muscles but with the brains". In his opinion, an excessive attraction for military strategic calculations lies at the basis of the crisis in U.S. foreign policy which is diverting attention "from the need to study the countless complicated economic and social factors whose effect more than 150 countries of the world are experiencing".

In the report "The tasks of American National Security" which was prepared by the Carnegie Fund for the Promotion of General Peace, the need to continue Soviet-American negotiations for arms control purposes is pointed out. The authors of the report write that the inflation of the arms race would be the alternative of this path. The United States, especially "people with lower incomes and citizens who are receiving grants from the government", would suffer from this.

The realistic statements of some American representatives, unfortunately, are lost in the broad and mass campaign which is being spread by the U.S. press and television. The myth of a "Soviet" threat is at the basis of this campaign. The Reagan administration, which has exerted during a short period of time a destabilizing influence on the world situation such as its predecessors could not lay claim to during their entire term of office, is setting the tone for this slander-ous campaign. The anti-Sovietism of the new U.S. secretary of state determines his thinking. In its edition of 16 March 1981, the American magazine TIME wrote: "Haig is a man of simple and clear ideas. His world outlook can be summmed up in one phrase: 'The Russians are coming'".

The arguments about the "inevitable Soviet aggression", to which imperialist circles are resorting in order to justify their aggressive militaristic plans, are creating a dangerous threat to peace and international security.

Reason suggests that a policy of limiting, reducing and, in the final analysis, eliminating weapons -- including nuclear weapons -- must be counterposed to the build-up of ever newer systems for waging war. The Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed that an agreement be concluded on the mutual renunciation of the production of the neutron weapon and on its banning. A 13 August 1981 TASS

declaration said: "In Soviet leading circles, they are convinced as before that this solution best answers the task of strengthening peace and would be in the interest of all states and people.

At the same time, no one should have any doubts that -- in light of the steps being taken by the United States of America -- the Soviet Union will evaluate appropriately the situation which is taking shape and will take all the necessary steps to insure its security and the security of its friends and allies".

The situation, which has taken shape in the world, requires new additional efforts to eliminate the threat of war and to strengthen international security. The Soviet proposals to strengthen international security primarily proceed from the fact that disarmament is the most reliable and effective way to achieve national and international security. The USSR is in favor of the security of all states without exception. L. I. Brezhnev pointed out in his speech: "The freedom and security of other states is an essential condition for our own freedom and security. At the same time, our freedom and security is an indispensable condition for the free and independent development of other countries". The experience of history and the progressive movement of mankind convincingly confirms this important proposition.

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INTERNATIONAL

WEST'S ECONOMIC PROSPECTS LOOK BLEAK

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 7 Jan 82 p 3

[Article by I. Mayboroda, doctor of economic sciences: "In the Quagmire of a Crisis"]

[Text] In the Summary Report of the CC CPSU to the 26th Party Congress comrade L. I. Brezhnev noted that in recent years "a further exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism has been occurring." One of the most important forms in which it shows itself is chronic economic instability. It is caused above all by a disproportion of development between production and the limited effective demand of the workers. It is for this reason that under capitalism it is impossible to talk about an optimal growth of production in keeping with peoples' needs.

An acceleration of the cyclical crises of overproduction and a decrease in the rate of economic development are characteristic for reproduction under contemporary state monopolistic capitalism. And this phenomenon is not accidental. ". . . in the capitalist countries," V. I. Lenin wrote, "the crisis is an old phenomenon which is repeated from time to time, like an attack of a chronic illness." During the postwar years alone six cyclical crises occurred in the world of capital. The most serious of them was the world economic crisis of 1974-1975. It marked the end of a period of relative economic growth and opened up a long phase of global deterioration of the conditions of capitalist reproduction. Without having overcome all of its consequences, the capitalist world again found itself in the abyss of an economic recession. Thus, while in 1976 the growth rates of the gross national product of the developed capitalist countries came to 5.2 percent, in 1978 they came to only 3.7 percent, and in the Western European countries--2.8 percent. In the capitalist world as a whole, during the last 20 years the growth rates of the gross national product and of industrial production and the growth of labor productivity decreased by almost one-half.

The economic crisis of 1980 was not such a deep one as that of 1974-1975, but the dimensions of the dislocations proved to be very wide. Thus, the total growth in the gross national product in the capitalist world came to only 1.25 compared to 3.3 percent in 1979, and the amount of industrial production decreased by an average of .8 percent. An especially unfavorable situation developed in the economies of the developed capitalist countries. Steel smelting decreased by 53 million tons, or by 12 percent, production capacities were underutilized by an average of 30 percent, and the total production of consumer goods decreased

during the year by 2.5 percent, while housing construction decreased by 14 percent. The crisis affected practically all of the spheres of capitalist reproduction and acted as a synchronizer of a new world cycle.

The crisis manifests itself differently in the individual countries, but on the whole it has greatly restrained the development of the productive forces of capitalism. The decline in production has become markedly stronger, the competitive struggle has become much more savage, branch crises and inflation have not stopped, and everywhere unemployment is growing. According to the preliminary data, the growth rates of the gross national product in the developed capitalist countries has remained at the 1980 level, while industrial production has decreased by 2-3 percent. To a considerable extent, the decline in production is explained by the decrease in the growth of labor productivity. From 1976 through 1981 the growth rates of output per worker decreased in the United States from 2.7 to 1.0 percent, in the FRG from 6.7 to 1.0 percent, and in Great Britain from 2.8 to .2 percent. The industries of these and other capitalist countries are marked today by the lowest labor productivity growth rates since the "Great Depression" of the 1930s.

A very serious situation has developed in the economy of the leading capitalist country--the United States. After the decline in production in 1980 (this was the third economic crisis during the last 10 years), in the first half of 1981 certain observers got the false impression that the country would crawl out of the crisis. But soon after the dynamics of production again went sharply down. The President of the United States R. Reagan stated about this that "the United States is in a mild recession." He depicted the future of the economy of the United States in rainbow colors, tying it to his program for "restoring the health of the economy." However, the real state of affairs testifies to the fact that the economy of the United States is rolling down a slope. For many years now labor productivity growth rates have been decreasing sharply in the United States. Thus, while from 1948 through 1968 the annual output per man-hour increased by 3.2 percent, and in 1968-1979--by 1.9 percent, in subsequent years it has decreased to .7 percent, and industrial production decreased in 1980 by 3.5 percent. More than one-third of the production capacities in industry are not being used in the country; three times as much money is issued as goods are produced; the budget deficit has become chronic; and the Federal Government's debt has exceeded today 1 trillion dollars. This debt costs the ordinary taxpayers 96 billion dollars a year only in the form of interest payments. In one year the real income of the worker has decreased by 5.5 percent and is now on the level of 1960. According to preliminary government estimates, beginning with the second half of 1981 the gross national product began to decrease sharply. The rates of its decrease in annual calculations come to 5.5 percent. This means a much deeper and prolonged recession than the Reagan Administration had been predicting.

The deepening of the international division of labor in the world capitalist economy, the internationalization of the productive forces, the growing role of the transatlantic monopolies, and so forth are leading to an ever greater "interdependence" of the economic states of the capitalist countries. And since the

United States accounts for more than one-third of the total production of the capitalist world and is maintaining its leading role in the development of the world cycle and of the phases of a crisis, it is clear that this cannot but have an effect upon its basic contractors, including Western European ones.

According to the American magazine NEWSWEEK, for many countries of Western Europe the present crisis is one of the most destructive ones. Thus, the production of industrial output in this region decreased in 1981 by almost 5 percent, while gross national product decreased by 1-2 percent. The overall deficit in the balances of payment of the West European countries came to around 40 billion dollars. The steel, radio electronics, chemical, ship building, petroleum, and machine building industries were in an especially serious situation. In 1981 the economies of Great Britain, the FRG, France, Italy, and some of the small countries of Central and Northern Europe functioned in a very uneven manner.

For a long time there have been extremely low economic growth rates in Great Britain. Since the 1974-1975 crisis the British economy has been marking time for a protracted period. In 1979, for example, the increase in the gross national product came to only 1 percent, while in 1980 it decreased by 2.5 percent and in 1981 by almost 3 percent. Last year around 700 companies, or one-third more than in 1980, went bankrupt.

Nor is the economy of the FRG--the most powerful industrial center of the Western European region--withstanding the pressure of the crisis. According to preliminary data, the gross national product of the FRG decreased in 1981 by 1, and industrial production decreased by 3 percent. Bankruptcies occurred in the country for 11,500 small and medium companies--25 percent more than in 1980. In the opinion of West German specialists, the economy of the FRG is experiencing its "longest phase of stagnation." Emergency measures which, however, are futile are being taken to save the "economic miracle" of Western Europe.

The economies of the other Western European countries are also in a stage of stagnation. The growth of production in Japan has also been seriously slowed down.

What do the 1980s have to promise capitalism? This question was discussed in Austria at the 25th annual economic forum of leading officials and bankers from the developed capitalist countries. To the question which was posed on the forum's agenda—"Will There Be An Economic Crisis in the 1980s?"—the replies of most of the speakers, as the New York newspaper JOURNAL OF COMMERCE reported, were "basically gloomy and joyless." Reality is confirming their pessimistic forecasts. All of the signs indicate that the decline of capitalism is accelerating.

Compared to the past year, in 1982 a decrease in gross national product of 1.5 percent and of industrial of 2-3 percent is expected in the capitalist world.

The depth and severity of the present economic crisis is a result of the exacerbated internal contradictions of capitalist reproduction, and also of the great synchroneity with which they are deepening in most of the capitalist countries. In essence, what is involved is the undermining of the entire economic base of present-day capitalism and of the state monopolist mechanism of regulating the economy which are incapable of opposing and, the more so, preventing crisis dislocations.

The contradiction between the social character of production and the private capitalistic appropriation of its results lies at the basis of the present economic crisis, as it does at the basis of all of the antagonisms of the capitalist formation. During the epoch of general crisis both aspects of the basic contradiction have determined an especially unstable type of reproduction under state monopolist capitalism both on a national and on an international scale.

The economic crisis has led to a sharp increase in full and partial unemployment. Under the conditions of the cyclical reproduction of monopolist capital it has a chronic and mass character. According to the data of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the number of officially registered unemployed increased from 17 million people at the beginning of 1980 to 26 million people toward the end of 1981. In the United States the number of "superfluous people" came to more than 9 million in 1981. In the countries of Western Europe almost 10 million people have been deprived of the right to work, including 3 million in England, more than 2 million in France, and around 2 million in the FRG.

The hardships which are being experienced by the workers of the capitalist countries from unemployment are aggravated by the rising cost of living--the result of chronic inflation which is closely interwoven with the cyclical crises of overproduction. A sharp intensification of the inflationary process has taken place in recent years in the capitalist countries when inflation changed from "creeping" to "galloping" inflation. Last year it came to 12.9 percent in the capitalist world. Among the leading capitalist states, inflation reached its highest level in Italy (21 percent), the United States (15.2), Spain (14.2), France (13.4), and England (11.7). Studies show that the prices for goods and prime necessities are increasing especially rapidly. Thus, according to the data of official United States statistics, the fees for electricity and gas and the prices for gasoline and home heating fuel increased last year by 18.1 percent; rentals increased by 15.1, foods by 10.2, and medical services by 10 percent. The expenditures for these four categories of goods and services consumed from 60 to 70 percent of the budget of an average American family. As a result of inflation, the buying power of the dollar during the last five years has decreased by one-third, while taxes have increased by 67 percent. A similar picture can be seen in Western Europe where the inflation rates come to 11.7 percent.

The sources of the unceasing inflation are many-sided. They are in the very nature of imperialism, in the non-productive expenditures of the financial oligarchy and the bourgeois state, in the chronic deficits in the government budgets, in the inflating of prices by the monopolies, and so forth. But one of the chief reasons for the inflation is undoubtedly the unrestrained arms race which is being whipped on by the ruling circles of the United States. The anti-Soviet hysteria which is

now being whipped up by the reactionaries of this country is being used to increase military expenditures. During the 1982 fiscal year alone, which began on 1 October 1981, United States military expenditures will reach 199.7 billion dollars, and during the forthcoming five-year period they will be 1.5 trillion dollars. Never before in the history of this country have there been such enormous expenditures for military needs. They will be an additional heavy burden on the shoulders of American taxpayers.

The economic crisis, the universal growth of unemployment, the rapid increase in prices, and the unceasing gallop of inflation are leading to an absolute and relative worsening of the position of the workers, to a substantial lowering of their standard of living, to an exacerbation of the contradictions of capitalism, and to a strengthening of the struggle against the all-power of the monopolies. This struggle is gaining increasing strength and is merging into a single powerful stream of actions for the right to life, against war, against the undermining of detence, and against a dangerous heightening of international tensions. It serves as a great uniting principle, powerful factor, and motive force of the transformation of the world.

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BOOK ON PRC'S MILITARIST PLANS REVIEWED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 49, 4-10 Dec 81 p 16

[Review by A. Yermakov, candidate in economic sciences, of Book "Maoism: Ugroza Voyny. Analiz Militaristskoy Sushchnosti Ideologii I Politiki Maoizma" [Maoism: The Threat of War. An Analysis of the Militarist Essence of the Ideology and Politics of Maoism] by D. A. Volkogonov, Voyenizdat, 1981]

[Text] The adventurous policy of the "great leap forward," the ill-famed "cultural revolution," and other zig-zags of Maoism have brought enormous calamities to the Chinese people and have caused irreparable damage to the social, economic and cultural development of the Chinese People's Republic. It is not accidental that the present-day Beijing leaders have been reviewing and "correcting" a number of directives of the "helmsman," while some of them, which have become completely bankrupted in practice, have been rejected by them. However, the "ideas of Mao as a recent plenum of the CC CPC proclaimed, remain "the party's guiding Zedong," as a recent plenum of the CC CPC proclaimed, remain the party of general ideas." Beijing's foreign policy continues in the spirit of Maoism; it continues to be aimed at militarization, hegemonism, and expansion and an exacerbation of the international situation; and it is increasingly joining up with the policies of imperialism on an anti-Soviet, anti-communist basis. These tendencies are well demonstrated in the book by the Doctor of Philosophical Sciences, Professor Lieutenant General D. A. Volkogonov "Maoism: The Threat of War." The militaristic feature is especially singled out in it, and it is emphasized that the ideology of this tendency always is based upon the decisive role of violence as a universal method and means of achieving any goals.

The latest events show that Washington is hoping to use the alliance with the Chinese People's Republic for its advantage, while Beijing has its own interest: to bring the United States and the USSR into conflict in order to be able to rule the world after a nuclear conflict which, perhaps, will spare, at least partially, China. The fact that this is the secret dream of the contemporary Beijing emperors is confirmed by documentary data in the book.

It is known that Mao Zedong had already conducted a long flirtation with American imperialism, but held back from deciding on making a direct bloc with it. Turning even further off the socialist path, today's leaders of the Chinese People's Republic, especially the supporters of Deng Xiaoping, are resolutely coming out in favor, as the author of the book correctly emphasizes, "of a speedy rapprochement with the capitalist West and with its military-political alliances." Deng,

the son of a landowner, the "strong man" of China, as he is called in the United States, shows his reactionary anti-socialist views with the greatest candidness. Having recently achieved definite success in the struggle for power, he is, on the basis of plundering the workers, persistently continuing militarization and pushing China onto an adventurous path which is a great danger not only for the peoples of the neighboring countries, but also for the Chinese people. On behalf of the realization of modernization plans "mixed enterprises" are being allowed in the Chinese People's Republic, which means an ever greater reorientation of the country toward the capitalist states. Already today these states account for more than 85 percent of Beijing's foreign trade.

Whereas 20 years ago the military budget of the Chinese People's Republic came to, the author reminds us, 12 percent of national income, today it exceeds 40 percent of the state budget, with the lion's share going for the creation and stockpiling of nuclear missile weapons.

The book gives a detailed characterization of the People's Liberation Army of China and points out that its land forces are the most numerous in the world (around 4 million) and are preparing not only for defensive actions. "More than half of the land forces are located in the north of the country, which once again emphasizes the aggressive intentions of the Beijing leadership with respect to the USSR."

The world has already stopped being amazed by the monstrous paradox--China, which calls itself a socialist country, is concentrating its efforts on a struggle against world socialism and against all of the progressive forces of the present day. Its attacks on the Organization of the Warsaw Treaty, the CEMA, its subversive activities against Cuba, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Mongolian People's Republic, and the Polish People's Republic, and its participation together with American imperialism in the undeclared war against Afghanistan and Kampuchea are well known.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated that it would like to arrange its relations with the Chinese People's Republic on a good neighborly basis. "Our proposals aimed at a normalization of relations with China," L. I. Brezhnev stated at the 26th CPSU Congress, "remain in effect, just as our feelings of respect and friend-ship for the Chinese people remain unchanged." The principles of peaceful co-existence, including the principles of equal rights, mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-intervention in the internal affairs of one another, and the non-employment of force, could serve as a basis for the development of relations between the two states.

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CSO: 1807/42

AFCHAN UZBEK PUBLICATION 'YULDUZ' EXAMINED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 6 November 1981, published on p 3 a 200-word article entitled "On the Pages of YULDUZ." The article notes the increasingly practical nature of literary links between Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. Recently, in connection with the visit of the chairman of the Afghanistan Writers' Union, Asadulla Habib, to the editorial office of OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI, we talked about this. We have recently received the latest issue of the Uzbek-language newspaper from Afghanistan, YULDUZ. For a long time this newspaper has been regularly reporting about the literary life of Uzbekistan and our friendly artistic relations. In the latest issues, it tells in detail about the stay of the delegation of Soviet writers in this fraternal country. It goes on to tell of the delegation's reception by Comrade Babrak Karmal, the meeting with President Salih Muhammad Ziriy, as well as the sincere talks with Afghan writers. Academician Vahidov of the Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences was also in the delegation. The paper writes that he had a sincere talk with the famous Afghan poet Sulayman Layiq.

The 17th anniversary of the birth of the [Tajik] poet Mirza Tursunzada is celebrated in the latest issues of YULDUZ. Some of the poet's works are printed in translation by [the Soviet Uzbek] poetess Zulfiya. Also published are 'ghazals' dedicated to Afghan comrades by Uzbek scholar and poet Vahid Abdullaev and an article by Ra"na Ibrahimova about the work of Hamid Ghulam. [A photograph of part of the first page of an issue of YULDUZ--in Arabic-script Uzbek--accompanies the article.]

UZBEK POETRY OF AFGHANISTAN EXAMINED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 6 November 1981, No 32, carries on p 3 a 1,000-word article entitled "Poetry of Brilliant Dreams" by Abduzuhur Abduazizov (Professor) and Dilaram Ghanieva. The article describes the political situation in Afghanistan and sketches the history of Afghan literature, with emphasis on the 20th century "progressive" poets. Under the new democratic structure today, Afghan literature is multinational; works are being written in Dari, Pushtu, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluchi and other languages. Works by a number of Afghan Uzbek poets, Ashraf Azimiy, Abdusalam Asim, Muhammad Amin Matn, Qari Sharaf, Ishaq (Sina) and Tashqin are widely disseminated. The revolutionary struggle of the Afghan laborers is also reflected in these works. An example of the poet Ashraf Azimiy's work is given,

the poem "Third Holiday," dedicated to the third anniversary of the April Revolution. Other examples of Afghan Uzbek poetry given are Tashqin's "The Way of Struggle," Abdulhamid Agahiy's "If [One] Should Be Happy," and Ashrif Azimiy's "Friendship."

PREPARATORY MEETING FOR INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 20 November 1981, No 34, publishes on p 1 a 100-word report "In Advance of the Film Festival" (report from Uzbek Telegraphic Agency) of the preparatory meeting held 16 November by the Organizational Committee of the International Film Festival of Countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The festival will be held in late May 1982.

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CSO: 1836/1003

AZERBAIJAN PUBLISHING HOUSE PRINTS FOR AFGHANISTAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OOITUVCHILAR GAZETASI in Uzbek 11 November 1981, publishes on p l a 75-word item entitled "For Afghan Students." Baku's Maorif Publishing House is preparing to print Persian language primers for first grades of Afghan schools. The publishers have also received orders from Afghanistan for 10 children's readers and a short political dictionary. The publisher will also send the young people of Afghanistan other works such as the poetry of Nizamiy and the works of Azerbaijani classical literature. Thematic illustrations, albums and handbooks will also be printed.

CSO: 1836/1006

BOOK BLAMING CIA FOR INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM REVIEWED

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Yu. Barsukov: "A Useful Book"]

[Text] The Washington administration, having barely settled down in ministerial chairs, through Secretary of State Haig publicly declared to the world: "Today all free countries are alarmed by the outburst of international terrorism, illegal interventions and wars conducted by groups the Soviet Union calls national-liberation movements." This declaration by the former military general clearly defined the essence of the new administration's doctrine. It is simple: fighters against dictatorial, antipopular regimes in Central America, fighters for civil rights in North Ireland, fighters in the PLO are labelled "international terrorists," and clairvoyant Washington saw "Moscow's hand" behind their back.

The U.S. propaganda machine and the mass media it directs have tried to stun Americans with a new version of the "Soviet threat." This noisy campaign pursued one other goal—to distract world attention and American public opinion from the role allocated by the U.S. ruling circles to their special services, first of all to the CIA, in conducting secret and overt terrorist operations worldwide.

The book "International Terrorism and the CIA" which has just been issued by Progress Publishers, discloses the real causes of the Reagan administration's interest in the problem of so-called "international terrorism." The authors B. Svetov and O. Tarin, journalists and international affairs specialists, define the book's purpose in the preface: "Our goal is to expose Washington's shameful farce. To put things in their place.... Using documents and facts, we will tell how the legal basis for the CIA's international crimes was created, how professional assassins are prepared, who works out 'scenarios' of terrorist acts; we will disclose the methods and modes of subversive operations." The authors successfully achieved the given task.

The book is distinguished for its authenticity and its persuasiveness. Rich material, based on documents and testimonies of direct participants in U.S. spying operations, irrefutably proves that that the CIA has always used such a clandestine foreign policy tool as the instrument of international political terror in the fight with ideas that didn't answer "the vital interests and national security of the United States." There are many examples in the book of the CIA's conducting "secret wars" against the peoples of Vietnam, revolutionary

Cuba, and some Latin American countries. Included among the methods of subversive activities are conspiracies, coups, bribery, intimidation, assassinations, mass terror. The experts in secret operations, who are based in the Washington suburb of Langley, have at all times used these means for crude interference in other countries' internal affairs, for achieving the narrowly self-interested goals of U.S. great-power policy. It was like this during the years of the "Cold War" when international terrorism, which was inspired by the CIA, reached its climax. It is this way now when, in the conditions of an aggravated international situation, the experts in "black business" from Langley prepare new criminal acts. All those who cherish peace must closely watch their intrigues. This is what the book "International Terrorism and the CIA" calls for.

CSO: 1807/53

BRIEFS

AFGHAN OFFICIALS IN KAZAKHSTAN--"The experience of Soviet trade unions is inspiring us," Safi Mokhammad, the director of a group of trade union workers from Afghanistan which is visiting Alma-Ata, stated to the correspondent of Kaz-TAG. "We have become convinced from the example of Kazakhstan that the construction of socialism in our country is realistic." For almost a week the Afghan trade union workers traveled about becoming acquainted with Alma-Ata. They visited labor collectives, sanitoriums, and the children's institutions of enterprises, and they became acquainted with the organization of socialist competition, intra-union work, and improvement measures. In the architectural-construction institute they were interested in the training of cadres. The guests were at the Kazakhstan Council of Trade Unions and the secretary of this organization D. Ye. Abdrakhimov had a discussion with them. The Afghan comrades also met with activists from the Kazakh Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries.

[Text] [Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 2 Dec 81 p 3] 2959

KAZAKH MEETING ON SOUTH AFRICA -- It has been 70 years since the founding of the African National Congress of South Africa--the genuine representative of the freedom-loving South African people and of the party which is leading the just struggle of its people against the regime of racism and apartheid. A gala meeting of representatives of the city's public which took place on 8 January in Alma-Ata, in the House of Friendship, was devoted to this event. A report was delivered by the chairman of the Kazakh Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa, the Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet Kazakh SSR Kh. Kh. Demesinov. The workers of Kazakhstan are actively participating in the action of solidarity with the just struggle of the peoples of the south of Africa for freedom and genuine independence. On the initiative of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa and the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, in 1979 Alma-Ata successfully hosted the international seminar, "The Role of Public Opinion in Supporting the Struggle of the Peoples of the South of Africa Against Racism, Apartheid, and Colonialism" in which emissaries from 36 countries of Africa, Asia, and Europe, including South Africa, took part. The participants in the meeting resolutely condemned the maneuvers of the neocolonialists and the aggressive actions of racists against the forces of the National Liberation Movement, and expressed solidarity with the heroic African people of South Africa which is battling for the elimination of apartheid and all forms of racial discrimination. A letter of greetings to the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa was adopted.

M. G. Kabulbekov, the chief of the Foreign Relations Section of the CC of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, took part in the work of the meeting. [Text] [Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 82 p 3] 2959

KIRGHIZ MEETING ON SOUTH AFRICA-On 7 January in Frunze a meeting took place of the representatives of the public of the republic's capital which was devoted to the 70th anniversary of the founding of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC). A report was delivered by K. K. Orozaliyev, the chairman of the Kirghiz Committee for Solidarity with the Countries of Asia and Africa and the director of the Institute of the History of the Party at the CC of the Communist Party of Kirghiziya. It was noted at the meeting that the ANC which is the oldest political party of the African population of South Africa is waging a just struggle against the racist, anti-democratic policies of the government of the South African Republics and for national and social liberation. The workers of Kirghiziya, like all Soviet people, are in solidarity with this struggle and wish the people of South Africa success in its struggle against apartheid and for social progress. [Text] [Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA in Russian 8 Jan 82 p 1] 2959

CSO: 1807/42

ACTIVITIES OF SOVIET SOCIOLOGICAL, AFRICANIST INSTITUTES DESCRIBED

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, 1982 pp 155-167

[Article entitled: "Methods, Problems and Perspectives of Research"]

[Excerpt] The editors of the journal OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI turned to the directors of the institutes of the Social Science Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences with the request to characterize:

- 1. The basic results of the scientific activity of the institute during the 10th Five-Year-Plan.
- 2. The role of interdisciplinary cooperation in the work of the institute.
- 3. The experience of the participation of the institute in international scientific cooperation of the social scientists of the socialist countries.
- 4. The main directions of the scientific research of the institute during the 11th Five-Year-Plan.

We are completing the publication of the answers to our questionnaire (see Nos 4, 5, and 6 for 1981). This issue of the journal features the directors of the Institute for Sociological Research, the Institute for Africa, and the Institute of World Literature imeni A. M. Gor'kiy.

The Director of the Institute for Sociological Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, T. V. Ryabushkin, corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences:

I. The Institute for Sociological Research (ISI), established in 1968 (until 1972 it was called the Institute for Specific Social Research) is the largest sociological institution of the country and the basic coordinating center in this sphere of knowledge. 1

In the course of the 10th Five-Year-Plan, the collective of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences has carried out significant work aimed at increasing the role of sociological science in the solution of the tasks of communist construction. Basic attention was devoted to research on the social struction of the mature socialist society, the social structure of the working class, peasantry and intelligentsia, the demographic processes in the country and the elaboration of

recommendations for the realization of demographic policy, the elaboration of systems of indicators for social statistics, social planning and the way of life, measures for increasing the efficiency of national labor, the analysis of ideological processes and the activity of the mass media, and the problems of fighting against the negative phenomena in the life of society.

The Institute developed and transmitted to the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR Gosplan and other institutions of state-wide significance a considerable number of scientific reports, information memoranda and reports in connection with the preparation for the 26th CPSU Congress. These documents contained summaries of the results of the basic and applied sociological research conducted by the Institute, theoretical conclusions, including those involving prognosis, as well as practical recommendations. The materials were utilized in the composition of the draft of the new five-year plan.

Within the framework of the complex interinstitutional long-term programs of the USSR Academy of Sciences "Scientific-Technical Progress and Its Socio-Economic Consequences" and "Research on the Regularities of Social Development of the Mature Socialist Society", the collective of the Institute contributed proposals regarding the perfection of demographic processes and socialist production relations.

During the 10th Five-Year Plan, the Institute began a whole series of large sociological research projects, conducted on the basis of all-union selection. Among them: Research on the social development of the working class and the engineering and technical intelligentsia with regard to such important indicators as character, contents and conditions of work, material conditions of life, non-working time, education and culture, socio-political activity, and social displacements. The research is being carried out in close contact with the party organs of Belorussia, Azerbaydzhan, Lithuania, Turkmenistan, the Bashirskaya ASSR, and the Gor'kovskaya and Dnepropetrovskaya Oblasts.

The all-union research project "The State and Basic Tendencies of Development of the Soviet Way of Life" sets itself the goal of elaborating recommendations in regard to the further perfection of the socialist way of life. In the course of the research the basic principles and directions of the development of the socialist way of life were revealed, as well as ways of increasing the well-being of the people; proposals were elaborated with regard to increasing the socially-guaranteed minimum of creature comforts; a number of measures were established for the further perfection of the time budgets of workers, the development of their spiritual needs, etc.

An all-union investigation of the readers of the newspaper PRAVDA was carried out (revealing the composition and size of the reading audience, topical interests, and the degree of influence of the paper on the formation of public opinion). Recommendations elaborated on the basis of the research were transmitted to the editors of the newspaper and were utilized for the purpose of further perfecting its activity. The reading audience of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA was investigated. Sociological research was carried out on the public opinion of the population of Moscow of the "1980 Olympics", on the basis of which recommendations

were formulated with regard to the perfection of ideological and political education work.

In the sphere of the study of /the social structure of socialist society/ indicators were brought out and selected regarding the social development and approximation of the working class and the intelligentsia in the conditions of mature socialism, a differentiated approach to the solutions of the problems of the social development of the village was substantiated, data were obtained on the regional peculiarities of the social displacements of youth, a system of indicators was elaborated for the study of the active life position of members of scientific collectives, etc.²

In the sphere of /labor, planning and administration/, the social problems of the development of socialist into communist labor were studied, as well as the socio-economic factors of increasing the productivity and quality of labor, proposals were worked out for reducing the sphere of application of unskilled labor, the theoretical and methodological questions of perfecting social planning and social-ist competition were researched, recommendations were made for increasing the effectiveness of Soviet science, and others.

In the sphere of /socio-demographic problems/ ways of optimizing migration processes were outlined, as well as ways of optimizing the attachment of new settlers in Siberia, the non-chernozem zone of the RSFSR and a number of other regions, and the increase in the migration mobility of the population of Central Asia. Positive improvements were ascertained in interregional migration and the migration of the rural population to the city, recommendations were worked out for stabilizing the young family, the optimization of the interrelationship of professional and family functions of working women, the strengthening of the role of the family in the education of working juveniles, and others. Jointly with scientists of the socialist countries the work "Demographic Processes in Socialist Countries" was prepared.

In sociological investigations of /ideological processes/ methodological guidelines were worked out for the further improvement of educational work in the work collectives, the development of labor and socio-political activity of Soviet citizens and the expansion of their participation in the administration of production, the increase in the effectiveness of the mass media in the formation of public opinion, and others. The activization of the work of the Institute in this direction was encouraged to a considerable extent by the discussion of the question of sociological research on the problems of ideological and political education work in the Social Science Section of the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences. S

In the sphere of the /theory and history of sociology/ research was begun which has the goal of elaborating a system of indicators of social development on the scale of the country. Within the framework of this project, the scientific-practical conference on the topic "The Working Class and Scientific-Technical Progress in the Developed Socialist Society" was held in 1980 in Gor'kiy. Text-books and reference aids are being prepared, in particular on applied sociology.

Studies are being conducted on the history of sociology at home and abroad, including—jointly with the scientists of the socialist countries—the history of sociological thought in these countries. A critical analysis of contemporary bourgeois sociology and revisionist sociological conceptions is being carried out.

Among the works of the theoretical-methodological plan we will note: "Indicators of Social Development and Planning" (Moscow, 1980); "Social Indicators of the Mode of Life of Soviet Society" (Moscow, 1980); L. P. Ionin, "'Understanding' Sociology'" (Moscow, 1979); G. V. Osipov, "The Theory and Practice of Sociological Research in the USSR" (Moscow, 1979); G. V. Osipov and L. Ya. Dadiani, "The Scientific Untenability of the Theoretical and Methodological Foundations of the Social and Sociological Conceptions of Zionism" (Moscow, 1980); "The Sociology of 'Counterculture'" (Moscow, 1980); and "'Neomarxism' and the Problems of the Sociology of Culture" (Moscow, 1980).

In the sphere of /the methodological, mathematical and information guarantee of sociological research/ recommendations concerning the organization of the collection, processing and analysis of sociological information were worked out and the problems of the information guarantee of sociological research were studied, mathematical models and programs for the analysis of information are being created. A series of collections of articles, "Information Guarantee in Sociology" has been published. The following monographs were prepared for publication: "The Trustworthiness of Sociological Information", "The Methodology and Organization of Comparative Sociological Research", and "The Classification and Typology of Sociological Research".

Together with the Soviet Sociological Association, the Institute prepared and conducted the first All-Union Scientific-Practical Seminar "The Perspectives of Development of Industrial Sociology in the 11th Five-Year-Plan" (1980). The materials of the seminar are of great significance for the development of this important direction of sociological science.

The Institute was the organizer of the scientific-practical symposium "Social and Economic Aspects of Increasing the Effectiveness of Science in Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress" (1981). Its participants examined questions connected with the organization and administration of science and scientific activity, its planning, financing, stimulation and material-technical guarantee, the assessment of scientific potential, the forms of integration of science and production, scientific cadres and scientific communication, the socio-psychological aspects of management, and others.

Since 1974 the Institute publishes the quarterly SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH, which makes an important contribution to the propagation of sociological knowledge, to the generalization of the work of sociologists, and to the strengthening of their connection with practice.

II. In the system of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the republic academies of sciences alone approximately 70 departments, sectors and laboratories of a sociological character are functioning. Sociological research is also being conducted in the party scientific research centers and in institutes of departmental subor-

dination. During the past few years there has been an increase in the network of sociclogical laboratories in VUZ's, enterprises and production associations. All of this determines the scope of the coordination work of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the diversity of its goals and, correspondingly, forms and methods.

Together with the Soviet Sociological Association, the Institute works out five-year coordination plans for sociological research in the country and systematically conducts all-union coordination conferences for sociologists, as well as thematic all-union and regional scientific conferences.

Increasingly wide use is being made of such forms of joint work with allied scientific institutions as the conduct of research and the preparation of publications.

The main goal of creative collaboration with the sociological laboratories of industrial enterprises is the extension of assistance to their workers, especially in the sphere of the methodology and technique of conducting concrete social research.

We must single out especially the cooperation of the institute with party organs and local Soviets--which has a beneficial effect on the quality and terms of the conduct of sociological research, as well as its efficiency. The results of crete sociological research are increasingly becoming the subject of discussion in party organs and are utilized by them in practical work.

The necessity of complex scientific investigations of such social processes and phenomena as culture, the mode of life, nationality relations, public opinion, the family, the education of youth, etc., requires closer cooperation of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences with other humanistic academic institutes and with the specialists of adjacent humanistic disciplines. This requirement finds reflection in the new coordination plan for sociological research for 1981-1985 and in whole series of scientific-organizational initiatives of sociologists. Let us note, for example, the proposal of the participants of the conference "The 26th CPSU Congress and Urgent Problems of Social Psychology" (Leningrad, 1981) concerning the creation of a coordination center linking the Soviet Sociological Association and the Society of Psychologists of the USSR. We will also refer to the column "Problems of Sociological Science" which appeared in the pages of the journal SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH (1981, No 1). Many such examples can be cited.

III. During the 10th Five-Year-Plan the scientific connections of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences with foreign sociological institutions and individual scientists continued to expand. Active development took place in cooperation with the sociologists of the socialist countries on the planned bilateral basis, as well as within the framework of the Problem Commission for Multilateral Cooperation of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries "The Evolution of the Social Structure of Socialist Society. Social Planning and Prediction" and its seven working groups.

On the basis of common principles and an agreed-upon methodology, two comparative multilateral empirical research projects were carried out during the past five-year plan with the active participation of our Institute: "The Approximation of the working Class and the Intelligentsia in Socialist Society" and "The Influence of Higher Education on the Social Structure of Socialist Society". In our view,

this signified the transition to a new level of the international scientific cooperation of Marxist sociologists.

The establishment of the International Summer School for Marxist-Leninist Sociology also became a significant landmark in this cooperation. The first scientific session of the school took place in June 1981 in Varna.

At the present time, the sociologists of the fraternal countries are jointly conducting preparations for the 10th World Sociological Congress, which will take place in Mexico in the summer of 1982 and will devote itself to the topic: "Sociological Theory and Social Practice".

IV. The work of Soviet sociologists, including the collective of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences, during recent years was subjected to profound analysis and was given an objective and fundamental assessment in the editorial article of the journal KOMMUNIST (1980, No 13), "Sociological Research: Results, Problems and Tasks". Having stated the important advance in the state of Soviet sociological science, the journal noted that "the general methodological and methodic level of sociological research in many respects does not correspond to the contemporary requirements" (p 82). The reasons for these inadequacies were indicated, and the basic one is the level of qualifications of cadres.

"The party," it was stated in the article, "has placed before Soviet sociological science the demand to expand significantly the range of scientific research called upon to increase the labor efficiency of all links of the social organism and to promote the fuller realization of the enormous possibilities and advantages that are inherent in the socialist order. The study of the life activity of the people in all the diversity of the forms of its manifestation in connection with the concrete conditions of their social existence is the most important task of Marxist-Leninist sociology in the USSR" (p 92).

The demand for further increasing the effectiveness and quality of sociological research and the strengthening of the connections between sociological science and the practice of communist construction in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress determines the activity of the collective of the ISI of the USSR Academy of Sciences in the new five-year-plan.

The "Basic Directions of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR during the Years 1981-1985 and during the Period to 1990" speak, in particular, about the broadening of theoretical research on the socio-economic problems of socialist society. In the five-year-plan that lies ahead, the Institute for Sociological Research will conduct research on the social problems of developed socialism and the regularities of its development into communism, as well as questions related to the increase of the efficiency of national production, the prediction, planning and administration of the national economy, with perspectives of the socio-economic development of the USSR to the year 2000, with the regularities of development of the spiritual life of society during the period of the development of socialism into communism.

During the 11th Five-Year-Plan, the collective of the Institute is faced with the elaboration of the concrete problems of the perfection of a system of indicators of the social development of the USSR and the gradual development of the socialist into the communist mode of life; of the development of the social structure of the mature socialist society (the approximation of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia; changes in the character, conditions and contents of labor and the level of qualification; social shifts); social problems of labor, the functioning and development of labor collectives; prediction and planning.

Significant attention will be given to socio-demographic problems, including: the peculiarities of the demographic development of the USSR to the year 2000, ways of regulating the reproduction and migration of the population, the problems of the family (the growth of material requirements depending on the number of children in the family, the requirements of working women for services in the service sphere, and the problems of the young family).

A special place will be occupied by the study of social problems and ways of further perfecting the mechanism of the formation of the individual in communist society and, in connection with this, of the role of the mass media and public opinion in social management.

The Director of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, An. A. Gromyko, professor, doctor of historical sciences:

I. Africa is a continent of dynamic and profound changes. During two decades the colonial system in its classic form was liquidated here. In place of the domain of six colonial empires there arose 50 independent states. There has been an important increase in the influence of the African countries on world affairs. They constitute almost one third of the members of the United Nations and are making their contribution to the struggle for peace, for the deepening of the relaxation of tension, disarmament, and the strengthening of the principles of peaceful co-existence. The history of Africa of the last two decades testifies to the fact that imperialism already no longer is capable of directing the social development of the countries of the continent into the channel that would meet its needs. Africa now finds itself in the sphere of attraction of two world social systems, with the gravitation toward socialism becoming apparent more and more distinctly—which is convincingly shown by the growth of a number of countries with a socialist orientation on African soil. This is what determines the significance of the comprehensive scientific study of Africa.

During the past five-year-plan, Soviet Africanists, guided by the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress, which provided an analysis of the basic tendencies and directions of the socio-economic development of the liberated countries, did a great deal of work with regard to the study of the current problems of the African continent.

The works of the collective of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences examined a broad range of general methodological and theoretical questions and analyzed the character, moving forces and basic stages of the revolutionary process on the continent, as well as the tendencies of the socio-economic and socio-political development of the liberated countries. Thus a definite base has

been created for further profound research on the whole complex of problems of African reality.

During this period approximately 70 monographs, collections of articles and other publications were prepared. Among them we shall single out the collective works: "The Great October in Africa" (Moscow, 1980), in which for the first time in Soviet literature a comprehensive analysis of the influence of the ideas of scientific socialism on the social development of the African countries was undertaken; "Africa: Progress, Difficulties and Prospects" (Moscow, 1981), which is devoted to the basic problems of domestic and foreign policy of the liberated states; "The USSR and the Countries of Africa: Friendship, Cooperation and Support of the Anti-Imperialist Struggle" (Moscow, 1977), which examines in detail all aspects of Soviet-African relations (the book has been translated into the English language).

A series of collective economic investigations have appeared, a series of works on "The Productive Forces of the Countries of Africa" have been prepared. An important direction of research was the elaboration of the theory and practice of the development of the African countries with a socialist orientation. Significant attention was devoted to the socio-political processes on the African continent. Works on the history of the national liberation struggle of the African peoples, on ethnic questions, culture and art occupied a large place in research. In The Institute also carried out comprehensive investigations of individual countries. Books and reference materials were published dealing with Nigeria, Tanzania, Guinea, Gabon, Upper Volta, Togo, etc.

II. The contemporary Soviet African studies represent a complex of disciplines studying the most diverse aspects of the contemporary development and the historical past of the peoples of Africa. We seek to take into account the interdisciplinary character of African studies in the organization of the work of the collective of the Institute and in our coordination activity.

During the past five-year plan there was a significant increase in the role of complex research both within the framework of individual scientific subdivisions and for the Institute as a whole. An effective form proved to be the creation of creative intersectorial groups consisting of specialists of various types for the writing of fundamental works. Thus, for example, economists, historians, sociologists, philosophers, and jurists took part in the creation of the collective monographs "The Great October and Africa", "Society and State", "Two Directions of Socio-Economic Development of the Countries of Africa" and others--specialists, moreover, not only from the Institute of Africa, but also from other academic centers and from the higher educational institutions of the country. Such a combination of forces makes it possible to analyze more profoundly the diverse components of the complex African reality, to examine these components in their unity, as a system.

Together with the Scientific Council of the USSR Academy of Sciences on the problems of Africa, our Institute, in its capacity as the leading center of Soviet African studies, carries out a significant volume of work in regard to the coordination of research activity in this sphere of knowledge. With the active participation of the Institute, all-union conferences of Africanists are convened once every five years. The last and third conference was held in October 1979 on the subject "Africa in the Contemporary World". 12 Participation of delegations from the centers of African studies of fraternal countries has become a tradition.

The Institute maintains creative contacts with a number of faculties of the universities of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Minsk, Baku, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Tashkent and other cities, and attracts their specialists to participate in publications. Thus, with the participation of Georgian scientists, the Institute published the collection of essays "Non-Marxist Conceptions of the Development of Africa" (Tbilisi, 1980, in the Georgian language), in which the problems of the ideological struggle on the African continent were elucidated. Jointly with the Institute of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences the "Bibliography of the Countries of Africa and the Arab East, 1917-1967" (Moscow, 1979) was published.

In 1980 leading staff members of the Institute presented a cycle of lectures on current problems of development on the African continent in the higher educational institutions of the Ukraine, where the great majority of African students are studying.

III. The international cooperation of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences with related scientific research centers of the socialist countries is realized within the framework of the Problem Commission of Multilateral Cooperation of the Academies of Sciences of the Socialist Countries "The Economics and Politics of the Developing Countries". ¹³ The Institute supervises the activity of the subcommission "The Economics and Politics of the Countries of Africa".

A basic direction of the joint work of the Africanists of the socialist countries is the comprehensive study of the socio-economic processes in the countries of Africa and the national liberation movements. During the past five-year plan the subcommission has published nine international collective works, including four monographs. A number of works have been published not only in the languages of the CEMA member countries, but also in English, French and other languages. Particular interest was aroused by the monograph prepared by the subcommission entitled "Africa and Neocolonialism in the 1970's" (Moscow, 1978, in English and Portuguese; 1979, in Arabic; Sofia, 1978, in French), which examined the peculiarities of the collective neocolonialism of the imperialist powers in the spheres of economics, politics, culture and science. In the monograph "The CEMA Countries and Africa: Trade and Cooperation" (Moscow, 1980, in Arabic) the general problems of the economic relations of these two groups of countries were characterized.

Under the aegis of the MPK [Multilateral Problem Commission] preparations are being made for the five-volume series "The Foreign Policy of the Developing Countries". In the fall of 1981 the Moscow publishing house "Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya" published in this series the monograph "The Foreign Policy of the Countries of Africa". The book analyzes the basic principles and factors of the foreign policy of the independent countries of Africa, the problems of inter-African relations, including of independent Africa and the racist South and the relations of the liberated countries of Africa and the developed capitalist countries.

A number of international collections encompassing a fairly wide range of problems have also been prepared.

The working groups functioning within the framework of the subcommission during the years 1976 through 1980 conducted more than twenty symposia, conferences and meetings, as well as several sessions of a winter school for young scholars on current problems of the developing countries.

During the forthcoming five-year-plan the activity of the subcommission "The Economics and Politics of the Countries of Africa" will be concentrated on the following basic themes: The liberated countries of Africa in contemporary international relations, the problems of the unity of the anti-imperialist forces in the contemporary stage of the national liberation movement, the strategy and tactics of imperialism on the African continent, the planning of the socio-economic development of the independent African states, new forms and perspectives of economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the socialist and African states.

IV. The decisions and materials of the 26th CPSU Congress and, above all, the CPSU Central Committee Report to the Congress gave a powerful stimulus to scholars for the development of research on the new processes which are taking place in Africa at the present time and for the determination of the possible prospects of development of this continent. 14

In the 11th Five-Year-Plan Africanists are going to direct their efforts at the still more profound and comprehensive study of the complex of expecially urgent political, socio-economic, ideological and cultural problems of contemporary Africa. It is thought that it will be expedient, first of all, to focus attention of our scientific cadres on the following questions:

- -- the common and peculiar aspects in the economic and socio-political development of the independent states of Africa;
- -- the Marxist-Leninist conception of the development of the liberated countries, the dissemination of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism in them;
- -- the theory and practice of socialist orientation; the experience of state, party and cultural construction in the countries of the continent which have chosen the path of socialist development; the ideology and politics of revolutionary democracy;
- -- the contemporary state of the liberation revolution in Africa, the struggle against apartheid and racism in the south of the continent;
- --changes in the social structure of the African states, the role of the working class, peasantry, local bourgeoisie and other strata of the population in the anti-imperialist struggle and social development;
- -- the role of religion, especially Islam, in the socio-political life of the African countries;
- -- the place and significance of African cultures in world development; cultural construction in the independent countries of the continent;

-- the critique of the bourgeois and Maoist conceptions of the development of the young states of Africa.

In the sphere of the study of the foreign policy of the imperialist powers with respect to Africa, Soviet Africanists are confronted with new and exceedingly responsible tasks. Their essence is determined by the necessity to investigate thoroughly the basic aspects, forms and methods of the military-political and economic strategy of the imperialist powers and their Beijing ally with respect to independent Africa, through argumentation and fully armed with the facts to unmask the danger of the imperialist policy and diplomacy for the national interests of the states and peoples, to reveal the perniciousness of the arms race foisted on the African countries by the imperialists. On the basis of the detailed study of concrete data, research on the reasons and character of inter-state conflicts in Africa, persistently fanned by the imperialist circles, must be broadened.

The following are also necessary: A thorough investigation of the policy of China on the continent, which has allied itself with the policy of imperialism and which is aimed at the aggravation of the international situation; the unmasking of the tendency of the present leaders of Beijing to form a bloc with the imperialist forces, above all the United States, on a hegemonist and neocolonial basis.

An important task of Scriet Africanists is the study of the liberation struggle of the patriots of the Republic of South Africa and Namibia. It is necessary to continue the analysis of the role of the United Nations, the non-annexation movement and the Organization of African Unity in the solution of the urgent international problems and their application to Africa, as well as the complex problems connected with inter-African relations.

The study of the specific character of the development of individual African states, their lines of conduct in the international arena, their "foreign policy signature" and especially the progressive role of the countries with a socialist orientation in international affairs acquires ever greater urgency.

Soviet researchers must make a profound scientific assessment of the influence of internal and external conditions on the struggle of the countries of Africa for a new international economic order and show that it is impossible to reduce the matter merely to differences between "the rich North" and "the poor South", that the essence of the question consists in strengthening the economic independence of the liberated countries as foundations for the collective rebuff of imperialist exploitation.

In the plan of study of the economic development of the countries of the continent and the scientific assistance in this process, the analysis of the interrelation-ship of production and the distribution of national income, as well as the growing role of the state in these spheres, is of primary significance. Investigation of these questions presupposes the exposure of the factors that negatively influence the prospects of the economic development of the countries of Africa in connection with the slowing down of the rate of growth, the lowering of planning efficiency in a number of countries, the growth of nonproductive consumption, and the increase of the dependence of the majority of African countries on the flow of foreign resources.

The socio-economic transformations being carried out in many states of Africa are building a promising path to the guarantee of economic independence. In this connection a comprehensive analysis of the role of industrialization as one of the main factors of progress is necessary. The study of the evolution of agrarian relations in contemporary Africa must also be continued; furthermore, it is necessary to analyze thoroughly the essence, forms and methods of the agrarian reforms being carried out and to reveal the character of the economic and social changes taking place in the African village.

The foreign exchange and financial problems of the African countries are becoming a constant object of research. And although a certain amount of work has already been done on this subject, the time has come for the scientific understanding of the new phenomena and tendencies in the sphere of domestic and foreign financing of the countries of the region, the specific character of investment, tax, credit and money policy in close connection with the national strategy of development, with the activity of transnational corporations. In this context it is necessary, obviously, to study the regularities and peculiarities of the development of the productive forces and the territorial-industrial structure of the economy of the African continent, especially such questions as the state and distribution of raw material and energy resources, transportation and the utilization of new forms of energy, etc.

Soviet scholars have done a lot for the study of the phenomenon of socialist orientation. But reality confronts science with ever-new questions. In particular, the task of a scientific analysis of the socialist orientation as a factor of the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism in social practice, of the formation of class consciousness of the African proletariat, and the activity of the avantguard parties is becoming of urgent significance.

The systematic study of the national question is acquiring increasingly great significance. During the past years the role of the ethnic factor in the political life of the countries of the continent is growing, with the national question in some cases moving into the foreground. This gives special weight to works which assess from Marxist positions the diverse approaches to ethno-cultural development existing on the African continent, including the theory of cultural relativism, pluralism, negritude, and others. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that it is precisely culture which is regarded by imperialist propaganda as the most favorable sphere for the dissemination of bourgeois ideas among the African community. This is why the critique of anti-Marxist conceptions in this sphere is of extreme urgent significance. The task consists in showing, on the basis of broad factual material, what is common and peculiar in ethno-cultural development and to show its ultimate conditionality by economic factors.

In conclusion it must be said that the problems of Soviet-African relations-political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural-will remain at the center of attention of the collective of the Institute of Africa of the USSR Academy of Sciences, as well as of all Soviet Africanists. The cooperation of the USSR and the other countries of the socialist community with the independent states of Africa represents a completely new phenomenon in the general system of international relations. In the political sphere, it includes assistance to all conceivable consolidation of the sovereignty of the young states, the political and diplomatic defense of their interests in the world arena, the support of their

right to choose freely the orientation of social development and their struggle for the liquidation of inequality in international relations. In the economic sphere, this cooperation envisages assistance to the liberated countries in the formation of the national economy, in the liberation from imperialist exploitation, from the neocolonial dictate and dependence, in the affirmation of sovereignty over natural resources and equality in the international division of labor. In the sphere of ideology the cooperation presupposes support in the struggle against the ideological expansion of colonialism and neocolonialism, assistance in the mastery of the ideas of scientific socialism, in the unmasking of bourgeois and social-reformist neocolonial theories of socio-economic development--modified conceptions of national and racist exploitation.

The task of Soviet Africanists in the 11th Five-Year-Plan, based on the conclusions of the 26th CPSU Congress, consists in promoting through their works the further strengthening and perfection of all forms of cooperation of the Soviet Union and the world of real socialism with the liberated countries of Africa.

FOOTNOTES

- See T. Ryabushkin, "Razvitiye sotsiologicheskikh issledovaniy v SSSR" [The Development of Sociological Research in the USSR], OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI, No 6, 1977.-- Editorial note.
- 2. See "Vysshaya shkola kak faktor izmeneniya sotsial'noy struktury razvitogo sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [The University as a Factor in theChange of the Social Structure of the Developed Socialist Society], Moscow, 1978; G. A. Slesarev, "Demograficheskiye protsessy i sotsial'naya struktura sotsialisticheskogo obshchestva" [Demographic Processes and the Social Structure of Socialist Society], Moscow, 1978; V. I. Staroverov, "Sotsial'naya struktura sel'skogo naseleniya SSSR na etape razvitogo sotsializma" [The Social Structure of the Rural Population of the USSR in the Stage of Developed Socialism], Moscow, 1978; F. R. Filippov, "Sotsiologiya obrazovaniya" [The Sociology of Education], Moscow, 1981, and others. The collective works "Potrebnost' v obrazovanii kak sotsial'naya problema" [Demand for Education as a Social Problem] and "Sotsial'noye razvitiye sel'skogo Nechernozem'ya RSFSR" [Social Development of the Rural Non-Chernozem of the RSFSR].
- 3. See "Byudzhet vremeni sel'skogo naseleniya" [The Time Budget of the Rural Population], Moscow, 1979; V. Z. Rogovin, "Sotsial'naya politika v razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve. Napravleniya, tendentsii, problemy" [Social Policy in the Developed Socialist Society: Directions, Tendencies and Problems], Moscow, 1980, and others. Among the latest works on the sociological problems of science we will mention the collections: "Nauchnyi kollektiv: opyt sotsiologicheskogo issledovaniya" [The Scientific Collective: An Experiment of Sociological Research], Moscow, 1980; and "Planirovaniye i upravleniye v nauchnykh kollektivakh" [Planning and Administration in Scientific Collectives], Moscow, 1981.

- 4. The following collections of articles have been published: "Nravstvennoye vospitaniye: problemy teorii i praktiki" [Moral Education: Problems of Theory and Practice], Moscow, 1979; "Nravstvennoye vospitaniye. Problemy i resul'taty issledovaniy" [Moral Education: Problems and Results of Research], Moscow, 1980; "Sotsiologicheskiye issledovaniya raboty obshchestvennykh organizatsiy" [Sociological Research of the Work of Social Organizations], Moscow, 1979; "Izucheniye obshchestvennogo mneniya v razvitom sotsialisticheskom obshchestve" [The Study of Public Opinion in the Developed Socialist Society], Moscow, 1980; the monograph of N. Bokarev, "Rasshireniye uchastiya trudyashchikhsya v upravlenii proizvodstvom" [The Expansion of the Participation of the Workers in the Management of Production], Moscow, 1979. The monograph "Rol' sredstv massovoy informatsii v formirovanii obshchestvennogo mneniya" [The Role of the Mass Media in the Formation of Public Opinion] has been submitted for publication.
- 5. See OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI, No 3, 1980, pp 161-165. -- Editorial note.
- 6. See "Istoriya burzhuaznoy sotsiologii XIX-nachala XX veka" [History of Bourgeois Sociology of the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Century], Moscow, 1979; "Istoriya burzhuaznoy sotsiologii pervoy poloviny XX veka" [History of Bourgeois Sociology of the First Half of the 20th Century], Moscow, 1979.
- 7. See "Gosudarstvennyy sektor v stranakh Afriki" [The State Sector in the Countries of Africa], Moscow, 1976; "Teoriya i metodologiya planirovaniya v razvivayushchikhsya stranakh" [The Theory and Methodology of Planning in the Developing Countries], Moscow, 1978; Moscow, 1979-1980, in English, French and Spanish; "Afrika v 70-80-ye gody. Stanovleniye natsional'noy ekonomiki i strategiya razvitiya" [Africa in the 1970's-1980's: Formation of the National Economy and Strategy of Development], Moscow, 1980.
- 8. See "Sel'skoye khozyaystvo" [Agriculture], Moscow, 1978; "Trudovyye resursy" [Labor Resources], Moscow, 1981; "Obrabatyvayushchaya promyshlennost'" [Processing Industry], Moscow, 1981.
- 9. The results of the research are presented in the collective monographs:
 "Afrika: problemy sotsialisticheskoy orientatsii" [Africa: Problems of the Socialist Orientation], Moscow, 1976; "Dva napravleniya sotsial'no-ekonomicheskogo razvitiya stran Afriki" [Two Directions of Socio-Economic Development of the Countries of Africa], Moscow, 1980, and also in a number of offset duplicator publications.
- 10. See "Sotsial'nyye sdvigi v nezavisimykh stranakh Afriki" [Social Improvements in the Independent Countries of Africa], Moscow, 1977; "Obshchina v Afrike" [The Commune in Africa], Moscow, 1978; "Aktual'nyye problemy sovremennoy Afriki" [Urgent Problems of Contemporary Africa], Moscow, 1979; "Rabochiy klass i rabocheye dvizheniye v stranakh Afriki" [The Working Class and the Working-Class Movement in the Countries of Africa], Moscow, 1979; "Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Tropicheskoy Afrike" [Society and State in Tropical Africa], Moscow, 1980, and many others.

- 11. "Istoriya natsional'no-osvoboditel'noy bor'by narodov Afriki v novoye i noveysheye vremya" [The History of the National Liberation Struggle of the Peoples of Africa in Modern and Recent Times], Vol 1, Moscow, 1976; Vol 2, Moscow, 1978; "Etnicheskiye problemy sovremennoy Afriki" [Ethnic Problems of Contemporary Africa], Moscow, 1978 (in English), and others.
- 12. See OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI, No 3, 1980, pp 194-198.-- Editorial note.
- For more details on the International Problem Commission "The Economics and Politics of the Developing Countries", see OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI, No 6, 1980, pp 174-178; No 6, 1981, pp 194-200.-- Editorial note.
- For more details, see An. A. Gromyko, "XXVI s"ezd KPSS i zadachi sovetskoy afrikanistiki," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, No 4, 1981.

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NATIONAL

SOCIALIST STATE ADMINISTRATION SEEN AS KEY TO SOCIAL STABILITY

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNYYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, 1982 pp125-139

[Article by Mikhail Piskotin: "Socialist State Administration and Its Study"]

[Excerpts] No matter how important formal organizational structures and procedures which have been established by law are, in real life the role of informal groups and relationships is substantial. This has been convincingly demonstrated by modern sociology. And from this point of view it is impossible to successfully analyze the real processes of management while remaining within the limits solely of juridical categories.

The insufficiency of a juridical approach to the study of problems of state management began to reveal itself especially clearly in all countries during the postwar years. Today there is probably not a single developed capitalist country where research has not been organized in the field of management and where courses in the management sciences are not given in the appropriate higher educational institutions. In place of one science of management a whole family of them has arisen. Moreover, the management sciences have divided into two branches: one of them is made up, to use the American terms, of management which studies primarily the problems of managing production and business organizations, while the other is the science of state management (public administration). Each of them, in their turn, is subdivided into a number of disciplines.

Along with administrative law, managerial science has been developing in all of the European socialist countries in recent years (in the GDR, for example, it is called "the science of the organization of state management"). The corresponding courses are given in a number of higher educational institutions of the fraternal countries.

In the early 1960s in our country research on the problems of management began to develop in several directions. Among them, three may be conventionally distinguished: the general theory of social management or of the management of socialist societies; state management; and the management of socialist production. The third of these directions may be acknowledged as more or less developed today. It has been constituted into a special school course. The rapid development of this direction is connected, I believe, with the fact that the need to develop scientific research for practical needs is felt especially sharply here.

In addition, in this field there were no other developed scientific disciplines which could, albeit partially, deal with the corresponding problems, as has been done until now in relation to state management by the science of administrative law.

The first of the above-enumerated directions--social management,--despite the fact that many scientific studies have been devoted to it, is without, in our view, any prospect of separating into an independent branch of knowledge. In addition, it is not sufficiently homogeneous. On the one hand, it is represented by work which has a general philosophical character. The problems which are covered by such works should, probably, comprise a special section of Marxist-Leninist philosophy which has to do with historical materialism. On the other hand, it contains works in which basically the problems of state management are examined. These works gravitate toward the scientific principles of state management and do not pretend to comprise any kind of new direction. Many of the studies on social management occupy an intermediate position between the two above-noted groups.

As for the second of the above directions, it requires special attention. Henceforth, we shall call it the theory of state management.

The term "science of management" has in our day only a collective meaning which unites at least two individual scientific disciplines—the scientific principles of the management of socialist production and the theory of state management. Each of them has its own special subject, its own "clients," and its own "output consumers." The former is worked upon primarily by economists and has the characteristics of a branch of the science of economics, while the latter is the work of legal experts and is in the system of juridical sciences. Both of them are based on a single theoretical—methodological basis—Marxist-Leninist philosophy (in particular, upon that section of it in which the general principles of social management are studied). At the same time, being independent sciences, both have their own theoretical-methodological base which is connected with related sciences (that is, with economics and jurisprudence, respectively).

The process of a certain "sociologization" of the social sciences which has been developing recently has also embraced the theory of state management. Along with other approaches, the sociological approach to studying it has taken shape. This approach has found a reflection above all in the separation of theoretical work whose authors have tried to base themselves on a system of concepts and categories which have been developed by sociology, and, in keeping with the demands of the latter, to examine the object under study in its integrity and in the unity of its objective and subjective factors.

It has to be said that there are as yet no works in the Soviet literature which have been especially conceived and carried out as sociological studies of socialist state management as a whole. However, a number of works have been prepared in which to one or another extent the individual facets and problems of this management in their sociological aspects are examined.

Attempts to form a theory of state management as primarily a sociological science encounter definite objections from certain students of the state. One of them amounts to the fact that with this approach the given theory may turn out to be a camouflaged form of the above-mentioned overall subject. In order to avoid this, it is proposed that its subject be limited to the political aspects of state management. Correspondingly, the theory of state management should engage itself with the organizational political side of management, and not with its organizational technical side. The latter can interest this science only to the extent to which the given side of management acquires political importance.

In order to evaluate each of the above approaches and decide what the subject of the theory of state management must be like it is necessary to understand the demands which should be made upon this theory. What is involved are demands of a dual kind: those which have to be followed in the formation of any scientific discipline, and those which are dictated by social requirements, the needs of practice.

State management serves as a subject of study for many sciences, and not only for the juridical sciences. It is studied from different angles by the theory of state and law, administrative law, political economy, the science of the management of socialist production, and so forth. The theory of state management will receive the right to existence only in the event that it finds its own angle of vision and its own subject which does not coincide either fully or partially with the subjects of other sciences. This is provided neither by the juridical-state nor the overall approaches. They are based only on that apparatus of analysis which is a part of the arsenal of already developed sciences. A partial expansion of this apparatus which occurs in individual studies of the above directions does not change the matter. The works which materially renew this apparatus are outside the framework of the above-named directions. Consequently, a theory of state management as an independent science cannot be created on their basis.

Until now state management has been studied primarily by special sciences—economics, law, psychology, and so forth. As a result of this, it has been examined only from individual aspects. It is probable that scientific directions may arise in the future also which study this complex object in certain new aspects. But the interests of a more profound and more comprehensive knowledge of both the essence of state management and of the problems of its practical improvement in accordance with changing social needs requires an integrated study of the object. This kind of study is most effective, in our view, when the sociological method is used. It is sociology which is the science whose goal is to embrace the object being studied not in certain of its individual aspects, but as an integral social system. The use of the sociological approach does not mean that the theory of state management has to be based exclusively on this approach. But it is this approach which has the task of being the key and pivotal one.

The theory of state management belongs among those sciences which develop at the junction of two others. The latter in this case are the theory of state and law, on the one hand, and sociology, on the other. We know that sciences which have

arisen in this way usually gravitate toward one of the sciences which engendered them. The theory of state management enters more into the sphere of sociology than into the sphere of the theory of state and law. Otherwise, it would become a section of the latter without forming an independent science. But, in addition, it remains in the general cycle of juridical sciences if they are understood broadly as the sciences of state and law, and if it is taken into account that the theory of state and law itself is not only a special thoroughly juridical science, but a bridge which has been thrown across from the latter to general sociology. As an incidental matter it should be noted that the system of juridical sciences includes other sociological sections also—criminology which is nothing other than the sociology of crime, the increasingly developing sociology of law, and so forth.

The socialist state acts as a force which operates commandingly upon social relations and which transforms them. The entire process of socialist and communist construction takes place under the active directing influence of the communist party and the state which has a positive and creative character. Under these conditions there is a clear manifestation in state management of such a feature as active and purposeful influence upon society, which comprises the fundamental distinctive characteristic of state management, something which should always be remembered. But there is another side here also. Precisely because there is greater activity by the state which has taken upon itself the immediate direction of economic and socio-cultural construction, there is an unprecedented expansion of the amount of general functions of state management. Along with "management itself" and influence on the objects of management, state agencies increasingly perform the functions of developing economic and social development plans, conducting finances, directing socio-cultural construction, social security, foreign political activities, and so forth.

It is completely obvious that ensuring the progressive development of society and the various aspects of its life comprises the chief and predominant goal of socialist state management. At the same time, development is not the only goal of management. This goal in the work of the state is always combined with another--stabilization. The two goals seem to be opposed to one another. And, indeed, they frequently reflect conflicting tendencies: some wish to preserve the existing state of affairs, others to change it. But very frequently their dialectical combination comprises that which is usually called the unity of opposites. The state and the law belong in principle to those social institutions which reflect the objective need for ensuring the stability of social relations. Using law and other means, the state introduces order into social life and maintains it. From this point of view, such a cybernetic characterization of it as an endeavour to "order the system" can be applied with full justice to state management. The preservation of a state of orderliness and the maintenance of established law and order is one of the paramount goals of state management. As is stated in the Preamble to the USSR Constitution, the Soviet people is consolidating in the Constitution the principles of the social system and policies of the USSR. The state has the task of protecting these principles, and the economic and political system of the Soviet Union; that is, of maintaining their

stability. The ensuring of established law and order serves at the same time as an indispensable condition for the successful development of socialist society, for the accomplishment of all of the state's tasks and functions, and for the realization of the communist construction plans. In other words, development occurs in a definite channel and in several forms. Stabilization and orderliness appear in this case as the form and condition of development.

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LIMITATIONS OF FUNCTIONAL APPROACH IN ETHNOGRAPHY OUTLINED

Moscow VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA: SERIYA ISTORIYA in Russian No 6, Nov-Dec 81 pp 60-76

/Article by L. P. Lashuk: "The Concept of the Specific Principle in the Theory of Ethnic Communality"/

/Excerpts/ The direction, new in principle, of Soviet ethnography which places particular emphasis on the primacy of the "social-activity, societal-historical principle" in the specific treatment of the genesis of the ethno-cultural characteristics and differences of peoples, compells us to look completely differently at that "traditional arsenal" of cognitive and explanatory means—which, relying on a not very abundant educational-methodological literature, our "VUZ" ethnography enjoys. It has been noted that the teaching of ethnography in our country's VUZ's has hardly always effectively followed the development of contemporary theoretical thought, which has as its goal, within a positively established (and discussed) sequence, to provide a constructive answer to the questions concerning the essence and genuine historical dynamics of the ethnographic phenomena being studied. There can hardly be any doubt that the scientific subject of present-day ethnography will not be truly mastered by the students if this subject is not presented in the curriculum as /theoretically grounded/ on various levels of its empirical and higher ("historical-sociological") generalization /in italics/.

The genuine basis of the scientific subject of ethnography is the integrated (analytical-synthetic) /socio-historical approach/ [in boldface], proceeding from the ideas of dialectical and historical materialism. The essence of this approach most fully formulated by V. I. Lenin as follows: "The most reliable thing in a The essence of this approach was question of social science and the most necessary element in order to indeed acquire a practiced skill in correctly approaching this question and not to allow oneself to get lost in a mass of petty details or an enormous diversity of contending opinions -- the most important factor in approaching this question from a scientific point of view -- is not to forget the basic historical connection, to look at each question from the viewpoint of how a known phenomenon in history arose, at what principal phases this phenomenon passed through in its development, and, from the standpoint of this development, to examine what the given thing has developed into now."3 At the same time the experiential logic of scientific cognition very precisely specifies that "point of departure" for comprehending a subject under which, prior to examining the history of a subject (the wholeness of an object or any of its aspects), requires that one give an account to oneself of what this subject represents in its "existential self-ness" -- in a concrete form of

a definite wholeness, "abjuing" within a definite historical space and time. Unfortunately, ethnographers often depict their subject purely descriptively, in the form of a chaotic conception of the whole."

The first important step towards explaining the qualitative nature of ethnic traits is an examination of their /functional role characteristics/ /in italics/ within the system of the peoples' life activities (which, to be sure, is still insufficicient "for studying the specific in the general, particularly for studying the factors of development and systemicity"5 in the continuum of the historical modifications of an ethos). Let us note that during a recent discussion of the new structuring of the scientific subject of ethnography it was suggested, in particular, that an ethnic community should be examined through the prism of the "performance by its components of ethnic functions" -- the functions of the constant, existentially necessary ("organic"), communicative means of inter-connection between people in the processes of their sharing in the activities of life--linguistic, objectively cultural, and psychological. Moreover, Academician Yu. V. Bromley set forth the following line of argument: inasmuch as the basic object of ethnography is the ethnic community -- the "ethnos," then "obviously, among its typologizing, characteristic traits we must also seek out the criteria for defining the subject of ethnography. However, among the concrete forms of an ethnos's existence (in the given case--that of an entire people--L. L.) there are quite a few different traits. But which of them define the subject of ethnography? Obviously, those thanks to which the ethnos must be isolated out from among other human communities. And such traits include primarily, as we know, the performance of ethnic functions by its components. It must be, therefore, that the principal criterion for distinguishing the subject sphere of ethnography is the examination of the ethnos's components through the prism of their performance of the ethnic functions, primarily from the standpoint of ethnic specifics."6

Scarcely anyone would dispute in principle the possibility of using the means of functional analysis in the complex problematics of an ethnic community's specific existence. But still remaining valid here is the question of in what precise foreshortening and how profoundly the devices of functional analysis facilitate the explanation of ethnic specifics as a /unique form/ /in italics/ of the existence of socio-historical communities (peoples)?

In a broad sense the functional approach is geared for examining primarily the functional ties which are directed at maintaining the existence of the object in its entirety. With regard to the given question in ethnography, we read the following, for example: "The existence of an ethnic community and its historical development presupposes the presence (and, correspondingly, the historical development) of internal-ethnic ties, binding persons together and including themselves in it. It is well known that these ties can be expressed in a community's awareness of its origins and historical destiny, the community's language and the forms of thinking which are connected with language, as well as in the rituals and customs, traditional forms of material and spiritual culture (and their replacement), the traditional forms of social organization (and their replacement), etc." As we see, the enumeration of the "internal-ethnic ties" has been sufficiently presented here, but all these are only functional ties, representing an ethnic community's /mode of existence/ [in italics] but not affecting the profound organic structure of the material social relations within which in any society "these definite individuals existing within specified relations can only carry on their own material

life and that which is connected with it,"8 without excluding, of course, the specific relations of the ethnic community as well. The functional approach in ethnography does not directly encompass the structure of the fundamental material social relations, and hence it cannot provide a complete answer regarding the specific nature and essence of internal-ethnic ties.

As a method of dynamically characterizing an ethnic community, the functional approach is an undoubted step forward in comparison with the metaphysical, glittering description of "ethnic criteria," representing in such a cross-section only the "inert core of traits"--partly common, partly differentiated for a certain aggregate of peoples (for example, the peoples of a single "language family"). The discovery of a mobile and changeable "functional nature" of ethnic criteria and their informational contents allows us to delineate more clearly and full-bloodedly ethnic community's /mode of existence/ /in boldface/, the specific /mode of people communing/ /in boldface/ with each other in the environment of their native people, their psychological /ethnocentrism//in boldface/, and the day-to-day opposition to other ethnic communities.

Wevertheless, the functional approach, implementing the principle of the "interaction among the elements (factors) of the whole," consciously digresses from the determinants of socio-historical development which are hidden within the depths of the external, existential phenomena under study. And, although by means of the /functional breakdown 14/ [in italics] method ethnographers were first successful in logically separating out the "ethnic" as a particular "part" of the "sub-system" of a socio-historical whole--a people or an "ethno-social organism," the problem of the "internal (structural) specifics" of an ethnic sub-system has still not been solved by this method. And it could not be solved, we say, because with the functional breakdown the structural parts (the "sub-systems"), with regard to the whole (to the extent whereby they facilitate the support of the existence of the whole), in principle "cannot be examined in and by themselves as independent entities; by necessity they must be correlated with the whole."15 It is precisely for this reason that the ethno-sociologists were unable to convincingly correlate the "social and the ethnic," as it were, two independent spheres, 10 while the ethnographers had to reconcile themselves to the fact that "in the final analysis, there are no such ethnic criteria which would be engendered by spontaneous ethnic causes or which would be solely ethnic in nature."17

FOOTNOTES

2. The synthetic term "socio-historical approach" has a serious foundation, for, as the philosopher V. P. Kuz'min points out, "the unity of the social and the historical in the mater. "Istic conception of history is so organic that V. I. Lenin sometimes writes abo. 'social (or historical) materialism.' And K. Marx himself very frequently uses the concept 'historical' in the sense of 'social' or else places the word 'or' between them. All essential historical changes of social phenomena and processes proceed, in the final analysis, as changes of the entire social organism, while the socio-economic system itself proves to be a transitory, concretely historical condition, which, as Hegel would have expressed it, "is qualitated" /?/ into a certain independent entirety (social organism), and the replacement of one condition by another forms a 'nodal line of measurement relations'" (V. P. Kuz'min, "Systemic quality," VOPROSY FILOSO-FII, No 10, 1973, p 103).

- 3. V. I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Collected Works], Vol 39, p 67.
- 4. Yu. V. Bromley, "Etnos i etnografiya" [Ethnos and Ethnography], Moscow, 1973, p 209.
- 5. V. P. Kuz'min, op. cit., p 99.
- 6. Bromley, op. cit., p 207. Later the following "subject" explanation was provided for this: "Together with the language, of the greatest importance for the constant functioning of the ethnic groups are the specific elements of their material and spiritual cultures. These constitute primarily those cultural components which are characterized by traditionality and persistence: customs, rituals, folk art, religion, norms of behavior, etc. The cultural unity of an ethnic group's members, in turn, is inextricably linked with the traits of their psyches, which manifest themselves, in particular, in the shadings of their characters, specifics of value orientations, tastes, etc. It must be especially emphasized that an ethnic group comprises not a simple sum of criteria but rather a definite, unified formation" (Yu. V. Bromley and V. I. Kozlov, "Ethnic Processes as a Subject for Study," in the book "Sovremennye etnicheskiye protessy v SSSR" /Contemporary Ethnic Processes in the USSR/, Moscow, 1975, p 10).
- 7. K. V. Chistov, "Ethnic Community, Ethnic Consciousness, and Certain Problems of Spiritual Culture," SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA, No 3, 1972, p 74.
- 8. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." /Works/, Vol 3, p 72.
- 14. The schema of functional breakdown is not too complex: "One is presented with a set of functions or functional needs to be examined as a whole; by one means or another one demonstrates or simply postulates that the satisfaction of these needs is a necessary and sufficient condition for supporting the existence of the given object (system). The presented set of functions becomes the basis for the breakdown of the whole; herein each function serves as an individual component of the system. We will designate such a component not as a part but as a sub-system" (V. G. Yudin, "The Concept of Entirety within a Structure of Scientific Knowledge," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No. 12, 1970, p. 91).
- 15. Loc. cit.
- 16. Also connected with this is the attempt to isolate out within an entire socioethnic formation a certain "internal environment," which "comprises the entire
 aggregate of non-ethnic social phenomena linked with the ethnic group." Moreover, the following line of argument is proposed: "Constituting in its essence one of the variants of social phenomena, an ethnic group in the narrow
 sense of the word (i. e., a culture's ethnic characteristics--L. L.) is particularly closely linked with its own 'internal environment,' with which it interpenetrated and by which, in the final analysis, it is conditioned. In general, in objective reality an ethnic group does not exist outside of the so-

cial institutions which act in the role of its structure-forming mold" (Yu. V. Bromley, op. cit., p 38). Present in this statement is the thought that the "ethnic group" is not amorphous, that it, on the contrary, is constituted and permeated not only by functional but also by structural ties. However, this thought is not expressed with sufficient concreteness in the given excerpt.

17. K.V. Chistov, on. cit., p 77.

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2384

CSO: 1800/179

REGIONAL

AGRICULTURE MINISTRY RESPONSE TO COMPLAINT ON AGROCHEMICAL SERVICE

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jan 81 p 1

[Article: "The Effectiveness of IZVESTIYA"]

[Text] The USSR Ministry of Agriculture in response to the article "Who Has Losses, and Who Always Has Surplus." In response to the criticism, concrete measures are being taken for further improvement of the agrochemical service of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

The USSR Ministry of Agriculture thinks that the article by first secretary of the Volzhsk CPSU Gorkom in the Mariyskaya ASSR, M. Zhukov (No. 213, 1981) [Published in No. 1190, JPRS 79399, 9 November 81, pp 64-67, under the headline MARI OFFICIAL CRITICIZES AGROCHEMICAL PAY SYSTEM] correctly raises questions about the need for increasing the role and responsibilities of Sel'khozkhimiya association for efficient utilization of funds for the chemization of agriculture and increased production of agricultural products. In a number of oblasts and republics newly created agrochemical subdivisions, because of their weak material and technical base, are still doing insignificant volumes of work and allowing violations of time periods and technologies for the application of chemical means, which have resulted in serious complaints on the part of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

At the present time all union and autonomous republics, krays and oblasts have developed comprehensive programs for increasing the fertility of the soil. Under the Eleventh Five-Year Plan it is intended to implement a broad program for strengthening the material and technical base of the agrochemical service and increasing the efficiency of the chemization of agriculture. About 7 billion rubles' worth of capital investments have been allotted for this, including 4.7 billion rubles for the construction of facilities for Sel'khozkhimiya. Scientific research and planning institutes of the country are developing a schema for the distribution and development of the production base of the agrochemical service, which earmarks a broad network of divisions, agrochemical points and other facilities for chemization, taking into account the desire to bring them as close as possible to the farms that are being served.

Standard provisions for awarding bonuses to workers of Sel'khozkhimiya associations have been approved. According to them, bonuses are awarded not only for the fulfillment and overfulfillment of established production assignments, but also for

increasing the volume of the production of crop growing products on the farms that are being served as compared to the average level achieved during the preceding 3-5 years. A new standard contract is being developed, which envisions increased material responsibility of Sel'khozkhimiya associations to the farms for prompt and high-quality performance of agrochemical jobs, and provisions are being developed concerning the economic interrelations between Sel'khozkhimiya associations and the kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and suggestions are also being made concerning making the earnings of workers of the agrochemical service dependent on the productivity of the agricultural crops on the farms they are serving.

11772

CSO: 1800/227

REGIONAL

GEORGIAN JUSTICE MINISTER CRITICIZED

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 3 Feb 82 p 4

[Article by G. Giorgadze under rubric "Amplified Response": "Minister Performs Poorly in Interview..."]

[Text] AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI published the interview on 26 January 1982; the format was adequate, nor did it skimp on space, devoting to it six of the eight columns on the page. The lead-in was in boldface, the title—"Minors and Crime"—in all caps, one of the rubrics—"Attention Needed!"—on a crosshatch background, and the other—"Interview on a Topical Theme"—in attractive lettering and with a pointer. This is only natural, for the minister is a rare guest in the pages of the newspapers.

In the lead-in we read:

The other day the republic's party aktiv held a meeting to discuss the work results and the tasks of party, soviet, and law enforcement organs and social organizations with regard to the CPSU CC's requirements concerning strengthening of efforts against unlawfulness.

The aktiv dealt critically with problems of prevention of crimes committed by minors and by young people in general, and noted substantial shortcomings in this regard.

These matters are the subject of an interview between GSSR Justice Minister Aleksandre Shushanashvili and AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI's correspondent.

Regrettably, the interview came off dull and somehow confusing. And it is not the fault of the correspondent. One gets the impression that the minister was not prepared. His answers are imprecise and ill-formulated, and sometimes embody contradictory claims. He begins by praising the "periodical press," which has, he says, substantially improved the quality of elucidation of problems and made its writing more varied, interesting, and to the point. When the correspondent reminds him that he has most often expressed dissatisfaction with the press and asks what caused him to change his mind, the minister responds in an irritated tone: "I haven't changed my mind. I have always said that the press should not write things that are against the law" (has anyone ever claimed that it should?!). Then he has some

rather incomprehensible comments on legal concepts and categories and says, in paricular, that "it takes more than just words and concepts to interpret correctly the content of a legal norm; word order, grammatical structure (?!), and even punctuation marks are also important." But everyone knows that grammatical structure is determined by the grammatical norms of the language and not by legal norms, which also have no bearing on changes in punctuation usage rules. And what's the point of his completely inappropriate analogy involving incompetent physicians?

The interview proceeds in approximately the same nit-picking style until the correspondent reminds the minister several times that the republic's party aktiv raised and discussed some rather serious matters. The thought was expressed, for example, that in the public's mind the most telling indicator of the performance of the administrative organs in regard to fighting crime and the conditions that foster it is the extent of reduction in the number of crimes and those involved in them. It was also noted that the number of young people prosecuted in the past 5 years exceeds the population of an average-sized rayon, and that the matter of improving prevention of crime, especially crimes committed by young people, has become an urgent one. It was noted that the administrative organs are not doing enough about crime prevention.

Expecting that the interview will deal with topical matters, the correspondent presses the justice minister for comments on the particular problems raised at the aktiv.

And then--curiouser and curiouser!--"It is doubtful," says the minister, "that the public assesses the performance of the administrative organs solely by the rise or fall in the number of crimes and criminals."

Well, by what, then? By the learned wisdom of the minister, pathetic examples of which (let's be frank) he gives himself? Supposedly scientific postulates are adduced (including pseudoscientific commentary on, for example, crime and sociology, psychiatry and psychology), supposedly practical advice, attempted analysis of the situation.

What is lacking is a clear-cut, firm, and unhesitating position on the part of the republic's justice minister two weeks after the stern party aktiv discussion of law and order.

How can he act as if the aktiv's materials had nothing to do with his department and him personally? Why is there no self-criticism in the interview? Does it not indicate a kind of arrogance, or else that his powers and capabilities have been exhausted in the fight against negative phenomena?

The esteemed Aleksandre Shushanashvili would have it that the extremely deplorable state of the republic's investigative practice, which was assessed in such a principled manner by the GCP CC, applies to a narrow circle of investigators. Why is this? And how is it that he cannot understand that the public does not agree with his criticism of all the literary and art works that have "proliferated"?

A rostrum for crucial, serious discussion with young people shouldn't be wasted like this!

At any rate, the interview in AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI gives the impression that it's business as usual in the Justice Ministry, and that it's time to put a stop to it.

The minister himself has been ill-served by the editors who have focused the public's attention on his interview. Why, the newspaper ended up itself having to state the tasks!

This amplified response has been needed because in general we have not outgrown the habit of fawning and pussyfooting when criticizing bigwigs.

Although in this particular instance perhaps it would be justified, because one interview with the minister--even an unsatisfying one like this--does not discredit the service he has performed in the fight against negative phenomena.

6854

CSO: 1813/051

MOLDAVIAN UNION LEADER STRESSES MORAL STIMULI, LABOR DISCIPLINE

Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 23 Jan 82 p 2

[Report by G. I. Yeremey, chairman of the Moldavian Republic Council of Trade Unions: "Report on the Work of the Moldavian Republic Council of Trade Unions and the Tasks of the Republic's Trade Unions in the Light of the Decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress"]

[Excerpts] The Moldavian Council of Trade Unions, its presidium, the republic trade union committees, and the leaders of our ministries and departments did not always delve deeply enough into the economics of production and did not sufficiently direct the participants in competition toward the achievement of concrete final results and of high rates of labor productivity.

The terms of their socialist competition and the commitments of certain collectives do not provide the necessary reflection for such questions as the use of reserves for an increase in labor productivity, and an economy of material, energy, labor, and financial resources. Moral stimuli are underestimated, and not everywhere are they correctly combined with material encouragement for the competition participants.

The distinguishing characteristic of the party's agrarian policy at the current stage consists in the planned shift of agriculture onto an industrial basis, and a deepening of its relations with all of the branches of the agroindustrial complex. The party has determined that the food problem—from both an economic and political point of view—is the central problem of the entire five—year plan. An important place in its solution has been assigned to the trade unions, and especially to those which participate directly in the development of the agroindustrial complex.

In recent years the role of the trade union committee in the development of the agroindustrial complex has become more important. They have begun to have a more concrete influence on improving the qualitative indicators of the economy, and to pose and solve many social questions on a grander scale. The interrelations between the trade union organizations of cooperative and integrated farms are getting stronger, and the forms and methods of social competition are being improved.

Guiding themselves by the decisions of the 25th and 26th CPSU Congresses on the further strengthening of socialist legality, G. I. Yeremey then said, trade union bodies had increased their monitoring of compliance with the labor rights of workers and employees. This has also been promoted by the creation in the system of the trade unions of a special service—the legal inspectorate of labor. But, as was noted at the 26th CPSU Congress, the trade unions still react weakly to instances of violations of the labor laws and of bureaucratism and red-tape.

All trade union bodies have to ensure a comprehensive improvement of the work to protect the legal interests of workers, make a principled appraisal of all instances of the gross violation of the labor rights of workers, kolkhoz workers, and employees, exact strict penalties from the officials guilty of these violations, and improve the practice of providing legal assistance to the workers.

Speaking about the course of the construction of housing and social and cultural facilities, the reporter noted that during the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan around 150,000 families in the republic received apartments, and that many schools, hospitals, polyclinics, and children's preschool institutions were built. The high construction rates for residential buildings and the above facilities will be maintained in the 11th Five-Year Plan.

However, the increased needs of the workers are still not being fully met. At the same time, in 1981 alone a substantial amount of the appropriations for these purposes was not utilized. In the construction of certain enterprises there is a gap between the commissioning of the production capacities and the building of the social and cultural facilities.

The Council and the republic trade union committees, and the ministries and departments have to draw serious conclusions from the demands of the 26th CPSU Congress that reports on the commissioning of new industrial facilities should be regarded as actual if the housing and cultural and domestic construction program at the facility which has been stipulated by the plan is also being carried out. We have to be more persistent in carrying out the initiative of the collectives of the "Mezon," "Schetmash," and "Signal" plants, which was approved by the CC CP of Moldavia, on the cooperative use of monetary resources, materials, and human resources for the construction of housing and social and cultural facilities. The trade union committees also have to take a more principled position in such an important matter as the distribution of housing space.

At the center of the trade unions' attention were the questions of the formation in the workers of a Marxist-Leninist world view and of a communist attitude toward labor, the education of people in the revolutionary, combat, and labor traditions of the Soviet people and in the spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism, and the development in them of a socially active life position. However, the educational and mass cultural work which is conducted by the republic's trade unions is sometimes ineffective and does not meet the increased demands. Labor collectives are still not being mobilized effectively for a resolute struggle against instances of lack of discipline, mismanagement, and abuses, manifestations which are alien to the Soviet way of life. The task con-

sists in bringing about an even broader development of the tutorship movement and of increasing the educational role of labor collectives in organizing the leisure and free time of people and in raising their educational and general cultural levels, and of making better use for these purposes of all of the palaces of culture, clubs, and libraries which exist in the republic, regardless of their departmental subordination.

2959

CSO: 1800/235

REGIONAL

RSFSR FARM WORKERS UNION CONFERENCE HELD

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 10 Jan 82 p 2

[Article: "The Main Direction:]

[Excerpts] Ways of further increasing the efficiency of agricultural production were at the center of the attention of delegates to the 3rd republic conference of trade union workers in RSFSR agriculture which was held on 9 January in Moscow.

In the accountability report from the committee chairman, V. I. Dergachev, and the other speeches it was noted that the party and state are rendering an immense amount of assistance for the development of agriculture in the Russian Federation. Large amounts of money are being allotted for production, housing, socio-cultural and road construction.

Delegates to the conference devoted most of their attention to unsolved problems and to the search for reserves for further intensification of the branch. It was pointed out that trade union organizations are not taking adequate initiative in the utilization of the extensive rights that have been granted to them and that they are poorly organizing socialist competition for the achievement of the best final results and comprehensive solutions to problems of the economic and social development of the labor collectives. Trade union educational and organizational work requires further improvement, especially checking on the implementation of decisions that have been made.

The task of mobilizing labor collectives for implementing the food program, whose basis is further advancement of agriculture, was recognized as extremely important. Along with management workers, the trade union must direct the efforts of the competitors toward fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan for 1982 and the five-year plan as a whole, organized wintering of livestock, and high-quality and prompt performance of the entire complex of work for obtaining a large crop.

It will be necessary to take effective measures to ensure intelligent and thrifty expenditure of feeds, fuel, electric energy, raw materials, processed materials, and financial and labor resources. The delegates demanded of the trade union committees that they create in each collective a situation of organization, high discipline, responsibility for the matters entrusted to them, and intolerance of mismanagement and extravagance.

It was emphasized that it is necessary to take measures for fuller utilization of the capabilities of the rural population for producing products of farming and animal husbandry and to show more concern for the development of collective gardening and orchard raising, as well as to contribute in all ways to the development of rural subsidiary farms.

The delegates earmarked ways of improving the activity of trade-union organizations in light of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, and increasing their activity and militance.

Participating in the work of the congress were the deputy chief of the agricultural division of the CPSU Central Committee, I. K. Kaputyan; deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, A. V. Aleksankin; RSFSR Minister of Agriculture, L. Ya. Florent'yev; RSFSR Minister of Land Reclamation and Water Management, K. S. Kornev; chairman of the RSFSR Goskomsel'khoztekhnika, N. V. Bosenko; and chairman of the board of the Roskolkhozstroyob'yedineniya, V. M. Vid'manov.

New members were elected to the republic trade union committee of RSFSR agricultural workers, and an inspection commission was also elected.

11772

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REGIONAL

REFORM OF FARM PROCUREMENT PRICES IN GEORGIA URGED

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 9 Jan 82 p 2

/Article by O. Tatishvili, professor and director of the Scientific-Production Training Association of the Ministry of Finances for the Georgian SSR and S. Demidov, candidate of economic aciences and head of a department: Improvements in Procurement Prices.

/Text/ In his speech delivered before the November (1981) Plenum of the CC CPSU, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev commented upon the need for further improving control over agriculture and the agroindustrial complex on the whole, an important element of which is the system of financial-cost levers. In the article published below, questions are raised concerning improvements in the cost mechanism and raising the effectiveness of its use.

In view of the important role played by prices in administering the national economy, serious attention is being given throughout the country to validating the levels and ratios of the procurement prices for agricultural products and to improving them. As a result of many measures that have been undertaken, the procurement prices for kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Georgian SSR increased on the whole by almost twofold during the 1965-1980 period.

The actual sales prices at kolkhozes for vegetables, wool, milk, tobacco, potatoes and poultry increased considerably and they were somewhat less for eggs, high quality tea leaves, grapes, fruit, pork and some other types of products. At sovkhozes, considerable increases were observed in the actual sales prices for wool, potatoes, milk, beef and tobacco.

Over the past 15 years, the earnings of the republic's kolkhozes increased by 1.8 billion rubles as a result of a raised level of procurement prices and the bonus payments added to them for the sale of above-plan products. This sum exceeded by almost twofold the value of the fixed productive capital at all of the republic's kolkhozes.

In the Face of Apparent Well-Being

Growth in the earnings of farms has promoted a snarp increase in net income and a substantial change in the sources for the formation of such income. In particular, an increase has taken place in net income from the production and sale of high

quality tea leaves, grapes and citrus and other fruit. A considerable reduction has taken place in the unprofitable nature of animal husbandry products, thus underscoring the positive advances realized in this chronically unprofitable branch of agriculture. As the gross and net income of farms have increased, the possibility has appeared of allocating more resources for strengthening the logistical base, for wages and also for the savings and consumption funds.

Nevertheless, the effectiveness of agricultural production continues to remain at a low level. The aggregate level of profitability for such production is increasing at a slow rate and during some years it even reveals a tendency to decrease. Thus in 1980, 331 of the republic's farms, or 24 percent of their overall number, operated at a loss. The total amount of losses came to 67.8 million rubles. In particular, the agricultural enterprises sustain great losses from the production and sale of grain, sugar beets, vegetables, milk, beef, pork, mutton and poultry.

The chief reason for failure to achieve the economic effect expected from improvements in the procurement prices lies in the fact that the production costs for the agricultural products increased simultaneously with the increase in prices. Moreover, the increases in production costs for grain, sugar beets, tobacco, potatoes and some other types of farming and animal husbandry products took place at more rapid rates than the increases in the procurement prices for these products. The situation was adversely affected by a number of other factors: poor rates of growth in the cropping power of the principal crops and in the productivity of the livestock and poultry, increased cost of fixed productive capital and working capital, an increase in unproductive expenditures, excessive growth in wages compared to labor productivity and raised costs for services by Gruzgoskomsel'khoztekhnika and other organizations that service the republic's kolkhozes and sovkhozes. We are still encountering incidents of mismanagement and a lack of responsibility on the part of workers with regard to the results of their labor. An increase has taken place in the materials-intensive nature of agricultural output with no corresponding reduction in the proportion of live labor expenditures in the structure of production costs.

Another and equally important reason for the insufficiently high effectiveness of the procurement prices is the fact that their improvements are not being spread over the totality of agricultural products, but rather they are selective and apply to only individual types of products and to varying degrees. The failure to observe balanced ratios in the procurement prices for the principal types of farming and animal husbandry products is in turn retarding the development of specialization in agricultural production in the most rational direction and it is producing difficult to correct adverse economic consequences.

Opposite Result

An equally important reason for the low effectiveness of use of procurement prices is the insufficiently high quality of the products being sold to the state. Disperities in the production cost levels for individual types of agricultural products and in their actual sales prices quite often arise not as a result of imperfections in the price lists but rather owing to their incomplete use. As a result of a large proportion of low quality products being sold to the state, many of the republic's kolkhozes and sowkhozes are failing to receive a large amount of income.

Recently a great amount of attention has been focused on those problems concerned with economic stimulation aimed at raising the quality of agricultural products. New standards have been introduced for the more important types of products. But there are many products the quality indicators of which, owing to a lack of state standards, are for all practical purposes not taken into account in the procurement price. This applies in particular to apples, pears, apricots and cherries. The absence of scientifically sound standards for the different varieties of grayes is arousing special concern. As a result, the procurement price level per 1 percent sugar content in a grape variety such as Rkataiteli, which furnishes approximately 60 percent of the republic's grapes, is considerably lower than that for other less important grape varieties. This underscores the need for developing more efficient methods for including quality in the price.

A definite amount of work is being carried out in our republic in connection with creating more uniform economic managerial conditions for kolkhozes and sovkhozes located in different natural-climatic zones, through the formation and redistribution of surplus income among low profitability and unprofitable farms. This fund is formed by means of deductions, on the order of from 10 to 70 percent, from the prices for highly profitable products. Such a method for the formation and redistribution of surplus income, compared to pure price regulators for leveling off the economic conditions of management for kolkhozes and sovkhozes, possesses a number of advantages over other methods. In particular, it does not bring about an increase in the procurement or retail prices. Nevertheless, its use over a period of many years has not produced the desired effect.

What is the reason? The method of forming and redistributing surplus income using only deductions from the prices for highly profitable types of products, distinct from other organizational-economic measures, suffers from a number of serious shortcomings. The chief such shortcoming amounts to the fact that the role played by this mechanism leads to an increase in wages and not to improved production efficiency. Moreover, the amount of the subsidy from the regulatory fund varies from year to year depending upon the financial-production results of the farms. As a rule, the worse the operational results, the greater the amount of subsidy they receive.

Another equally important shortcoming is the existing method for forming the subsidy fund. Owing to a number of objective factors, some farms included in the group of highly profitable facilities have had low production profitabilities during some years and have even operated at a loss. Such farms are found in our tea and grape production operations. Naturally, this underscores the need for further improving the method being employed at the present time.

Heart of Integration.

Of the complex of factors affecting the final production results, priority importance is without a doubt attached to improving the zonal, intra-zonal and intra-branch differentiation of the procurement price levels and ratios for the principal types of field crop husbandry and animal husbandry products, after which it will be possible to commence the formation of the republic fund for regulating the profitability of farms. Importance is attached to continuing to improve the price system owing to the fact that under the new conditions for the functioning of the agroindustrial complex, an extreme need exists for developing basically new and scientifically sound principles for the cost, financial-credit and

investment policies and also for creating conditions for equality and stability in the economic opportunities for developing all of its branches.

when planning the price levels and ratios, consideration should be given to a detailed and consistent system of interrelationships of the prices with other prices, a system which reflects both a direct association and an inverse dependence. An accelerated solution is required for this problem in order to ensure that each cycle in the technological chain, commencing with production and ending with the sale of the finished product, pays for itself and furnishes the profit required for expanded reproduction by all subunits of the agroindustrial complex. Otherwise disproportions will arise in the development of its separate elements, the elimination of which will be impossible in the absence of additional subsidies from the state budget. Thus, we are of the opinion that the addition of bonuses to the principal procurement price, for above-plan sales of agricultural products to the state, is not sufficiently sound. This results from the fact that this measure, owing to increased costs for the agricultural raw materials, causes some branches of the processing industry to operate at a loss within a short period of time. It would be more advisable to examine the entire system of procurement prices and to improve it taking into account the payments made to the farms by the state as a result of bonuses for the sale of above-plan products. The retail price for the same type of product must serve as the basis for regulating the prices.

The need for observing an equivalent exchange at all levels of the APK /agroindustrial complex/ derives from the fact that in recent years it has been violated and not in favor of agriculture and this has led to a reduction in its economic effectiveness. A reverse trend may develop during the next few years owing to an increase in the procurement prices. In order to avoid it, it will be necessary in the planning of price formation to introduce a special cooeficient for the ratio of the procurement price indicator to the indicator for agricultural enterprise expenditures for acquiring logistical resources and rendering services. When establishing a balanced norm for profitability, for both agricultural and industrial enterprises, this coefficient must equal a unit and any deviation from it will testify to undesirable changes in the equivalence of exchange.

Normal management conditions require both stability and flexibility in the procurement prices and thus they must be reviewed in a timely manner. This requirement is dictated by the fact that the existing practice of one-time price revisions leads to their "freezing" for an extended period of time and to the appearance of serious disparities between expenditures and prices, to discrepancies in the profitability levels for individual types of products, to the appearance of economically unsound ratios and to a weakening of the stimulating function of prices. In this regard, differentiated periods should be established for price stability for the various types of field crop husbandry and animal husbandry products, in conformity with the changes truly taking place in the level of total expenditures and in the rates of growth for labor productivity. In the process, importance is attached to combining current and general reviews of the price levels and ratios. The tasks for current price reviews must become a component part of the five-year national economic plans. These plans must call for a review of the procurement prices, with the year in which the review is to be carried out so indicated, and of the planned level of price changes for the most important agricultural products. The new system for reviewing procurement prices must be based upon complete scientific works and thorough economic computations. It must coordinate to a better degree the price reviews with the prospects for agricultural development.

In discussing current and general reviews of the price levels and ratios, extreme importance is attached to forecasting their changes for a considerable period of time into the future. This is dictated by the fact that the long term planning of prices is associated with one of the most important tasks concerned with administering a system of prices. Trustworthiness and complete presentation of the future price system must become an indispensable attribute in the carrying out of a uniform price policy, in the creation of optimum proportions for the production structure and in raising the quality of planning, financing and administering the national economy. This is also associated with the development of long term norms that will constitute an inalienable part of the new system of planning and intensification of the influence of the economic mechanism with regard to raising production efficiency and the quality of work.

A starting point for validating and computing a system of procurement prices for a remote period in the future must be a comprehensive and staged taking into account of all factors exerting a direct influence on changes in the price levels and structure. At the same time, one of the chief tasks in the forecasting of prices must be that of ensuring that they produce the amount of net income required by each farm in order to achieve the desired indicators.

The solving of the problems mentioned above must commence with a comprehensive analysis of the use of existing procurement prices at kolkhozes and sovkhozes. A thorough study must be undertaken of the relationships which are manifested in a change in the cost and quality of products, net income, branch and total profitability and an evaluation must be carried out on the effect of prices on the economies of kolkhozes, sovkhozes and interenterprise associations operating under different natural-economic production conditions and on fulfillment of the planned indicators for growth in the principal types of agricultural products. And in this regard, mention must necessarily be made of the fact that work in this direction is not being carried out at the proper level in the republic. We have almost no price formation specialists and none are being trained at higher educational institutes. It is sufficient to state that the problems of price formation are being handled by only 2-3 individuals in the Ministry of Agriculture for the Georgian SSR.

There is still one other concern. At the present time, an important role in the formation of the food program is being played by the private plots of the rural population and by cooperation between these plots and the public farms. We are of the opinion that in order to raise the material interest of public farms in developing the private plots and expanding their cooperation with the public farms, the procurement prices for the products produced by them must be established at a higher level than for the same types of products produced by kolkhozes and sovkhozes.

All of the above underscores the need for tasking the appropriate organs with developing specific proposals for improving the existing system of prices for agricultural products and achieving a more sound coordination of them with other financial-cost regulators for the profitability of farms. We must remember that improvements in the system of prices exert a positive effect on increasing agricultural output and lowering the costs, only in those instances where they are combined with improving the entire complex of financial-organizational measures directed towards expanded reproduction for the republic's kolkhozes and sowkhozes.

7026

CSO: 1824/246

TASHKENT CONFERENCE ON NATIONALITY PROBLEMS

Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 30 Jun 81 p 4

[Interview with Philosophy Frof Dr J. Tulenov, Prorector of Tashkent State Pedinstitute imeni Nizamiy and member of the conference's organizational committee, by newspaper correspondent R. Qosimov: "Common Goals"]

[Text] Today, a scientific-theoretical conference will be held in Tashkent under the sponsorship of the republic Ministry of Education and the Tashkent State Teachers Institute im. Nizamiy on the theme: "Internationalization of spiritual life-the internal laws of progress of socialist nationalities and subnationalities in the period of developed socialism." In this connection, SOVET OZBEKISTONI correspondent R. Qosimov spoke with Philosophy Prof Dr J. Tulenov, Prorector of Tashkent State Teachers Institute im. Nizamiy and member of the conference's organizational committee.

[Question] It is well-known that the internationalization of spiritual culture is one of the most important successes achieved thanks to socialism. Jandar Tulenovich, would you speak in greater detail about this?

[Answer] This is truly an extraordinary success of socialist society and our people achieved it under the leadership of the CPSU which successfully implements the Leninist nationality policy. As Comrade L.I. Brezhnev stressed at the 26th CPSU Congress, due to the rapid economic and social progress of every union republic united in the single Soviet family: "...national cultures are flourishing and enriching one another. A new social and international unity-a single Soviet culture-is being formed."

Formation of a single culture of the Soviet people is a lawful process based on objective changes that have appeared in the material and spiritual spheres in our country. The economic basis of the internationalization of the spiritual life of socialist nationalities and subnationalities is the method of socialist production. This method is being developed in a planned way as a complex of a single national economy. The economy of the Soviet Union is considered a single economic organism formed on the basis of common economic goals and interests of all nationalities and subnationalities.

At the 26th Congress of our beloved party, intensification of the progress of all sectors of the national economy, increasing of production productivity and

work quality, development of the structure of the national economy, and other measures were indicated that, taken as a whole, further strengthen the material basis of the spiritual culture of the Soviet people and create the right conditions for bringing the socialist cultures ever closer to one another.

[Question] The process of internationalization of spiritual cultures doubtlessly demands a profound and thorough study from the scientific point-of-view. What kind of work are Uzbekistan's scholars carrying out in this area?

[Answer] A number of large monographs, collective volumes, and brochures by scholars of our republic have been printed in recent years. Important aspects of the internationalization of spiritual culture are creatively examined in them. These include objective and subjective factors in the formation of a single culture of the Soviet people, national and international dialectics in culture, mutual enrichment of socialist cultures in the period of developed socialism, criticism of the anticommunists on questions of the cultural progress of peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and other questions. Capable, young researchers at several universities are studying the scientific side of problems of socialist culture on the basis of characteristics of the Central Asian region.

A number of measures aimed at the internationalist education of young students on the basis of the decisions of the supreme forums of communists of our homeland and our republic are being produced and implemented in public education schools, and in higher and secondary specialized education schools. International friendship clubs, meetings with party veterans, leading production workers, participants in the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars, public figures, and literary and art figures, giving lectures among the population, holding scientific-theoretical conferences, and other work forms have become fundamental weapons in our activities on the ideological front.

Russian language study plays a large role in the internationalization of spiritual cultures. The Russian language has become the common language of international conduct and cooperation of all peoples in the USSR. The internal laws of the economic sociopolitical and cultural progress of the Soviet people demand this. On-going processes that are accelerating in the area of turnover of cadres, and in the progressive development of the union-wide character of our socialist economy which has become a powerful economic organism and of the material and spiritual wealth of socialist nationalities, as well as the mutual rapprochement and enrichment of various cultures and the resultant internationalization of the way of life of the entire Soviet society, have brought these conditions into existence.

[Question] Which problems will be examined at the conference?

[Answer] Research in the area of internationalization of spiritual life and the problem of international education must be raised to a higher level that answers today's demands. At the same time, it has the purpose of organizing a single center which will coordinate the scientific output on problems of socialist culture from university and academic institutions. Thus, we must further develop the work of social sciences departments in universities and

of public organizations in the field of international education and methodology. These and other questions will be thoroughly discussed at the conference. Participants in the forum will hear close to 80 papers and scientific communications on various problems of the internationalization of the spiritual life of socialist nationalities and subnationalities in our country. The conference will summarize the results of the scientific works of republic scholars on this important topic and of the work of universities in educating young people in an internationalist spirit, and will indicate immediate tasks.

Without doubt, this forum will serve to further strengthen scientific research, develop the work of educating workers in an internationalist spirit, and honorably fulfill the tasks in the field of ideological work on the basis of the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 20th CPUz Congress. More than 700 scholars and teachers will participate in the conference.

9434

CSO: 1836/118

REGIONAL

INTER-NATIONALITY RELATIONS COUNCIL FORMED IN GEORGIA

Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 7 Feb 82 p 3

[Article by Philosophical Sciences Candidate T. Badurashvili, director of the GSSR Academy of Sciences Peoples Friendship Museum, under the rubric "Pages of Cultural Relations of the GSSR Peoples Friendship Museum": "Happy Those Brothers..."]

[Excerpt] Georgia is a multinational republic. All who have made their home on our land have, like Sayatnova, cherished Georgia as their own, have worked, fought, and died for her. Georgia's joys have been everyone's joys. But we have cares as well as joys in common, and sometimes, too, our relations are clouded by vestiges of the past. No one has any intention of concealing it or hushing it up. The GCP CC, faithfully defending Leninist principles of the friendship of peoples, decided to create a Republic Coordinating Council of Inter-Nationality Relations, the purpose of which is perfectly clear from its name.

The Peoples Friendship Museum has been accorded the great honor of serving as the scientific base of the council. It fills us with a sense of pride and, at the same time, great responsibility—pride because in its eight years of existence the museum has apparently done pretty good work; increased responsibility in that from now on the museum will have to involve itself in the very heart of the republic's spiritual culture and deal directly with the most vital national problems.

6854

CSO: 1813/052

REGIONAL

AFGHAN WRITERS' UNION CHAIRMAN ON LITERARY DEVELOPMENTS

Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 21 Aug 81 p 4

[Conversation with Asadulla Habib, chairman of Afghan Writers' Union, transcribed by Ahmad A'zam: "Literature is the Mirror of the People"]

[Text] Recently, the Chairman of the APDR Writers' Union, and Afghanistan's cherished writer, poet, and literary scholar, Asadulla Habib, was a guest at our editorial office. During the meeting with workers at the office, he spoke in detail about current problems and future tasks facing the literatures of the Afghan peoples. We present a summary of this conversation.

When one speaks about the present situation of Afghan literature, one must first of all particularly stress that it is coming ever closer to the people and assuming a revolutionary appearance that is at one with the life of the people. There is today no more important task for every conscientious Afghan writer than to be concerned about the fate of his homeland and his fellow countrymen and to take part in the revolutionary struggle being waged for the just and bright life of the people.

Over the centuries, Afghan literature has expressed the people's hopes and aspirations and depicted its heart's desires. That is why in today's complex conditions it is a legitimate task for it to lead the masses onto the correct path and to distinguish for them between right and wrong. One can say that numerous Afghan writers are honorably carrying out this task. By placing their ears to the heart of the people, they are depicting in their works in a truthful fashion the people's sorrows and joys, loves and hates, and optimistic thoughts about today's struggle and tomorrow.

From the beginning of the 20th century, Afghan writers who saw the accomplishments of other countries in the fields of science and technology and culture devoted themselves to the work of developing culture and the arts and of raising the level of education in our own country. Of course, it is difficult to awaken the people's conscience and to lead them on the path of revolutionary struggle by means of enlightened ideals alone. One can see the truth of this in the social and political events that occurred in the period prior to the April Revolution. However, at the same time, the good intentions of enlightened Afghan democrats did not die away without a trace. Their thoughts about cultural, scientific and

technological progress left an ember in the hearts of people, opened their eyes and called them to the struggle against ignorance and backwardness.

When we speak about the present agenda of Afghan literature, we must keep in mind that the revolutionary movement is becoming more highly developed in the ideological sphere and that the thoughts of Afghan writers in this work have an uncommonly heavy weight. At the present time, the majority of the Afghan intelligentsia consists of creative people who wish the revolution well. Their practical actions and works are directed toward strengthening the results of the revolution.

Of course, our government attaches great importance to the healthy development of the literature of Afghan peoples, to carefully educating its talented writers, and to establishing revolutionary connections and friendly cooperation between the literatures of nationalities. It is bringing into existence conditions that are necessary for the progress of literatures in Dari, Pashtu, Uzbek, Turkmen, Baluchi, and other languages. One such important measure is the formation of the Afghan Writers' Union. Now, there are more than two hundred creative people belonging to various nationalities in our ranks. However, this does not exhaust the number of our creative people. Many of our poets live far from central cities like Kabul, and we have not managed to draw them into the union's work as yet. But, I am happy to say that creative people living in distant provinces who have heard the news of the formation of the Writers' Union have taken the initiative, set up organizations, and written letters to us asking that later these organizations be officially admitted into the Writers' Union as sections.

The gradual development of polygraphic and press works in Afghanistan, and the allocation of additional funds for this work by the state have made it possible to establish several new newspapers and magazines. I do not think it necessary to explain just how significant is a measure of this kind. On the other hand, I consider it to be my obligation to particularly stress that one of these newly established newspapers, YULDUZ [STAR], is bringing to light the creative works of many Uzbek poets and is becoming a literary arena for dozens of young talents who belong to this nationality.

We still have an enormous amount of work to do. We must be able to solve considerable problems in the ideological and practical spheres. In the first place, we must sharply expose in our artistic works and publicistic pieces the intrigues of our enemies, which are a very large obstacle to the normal progress of our country. We must increase the militancy of words and the activism of writers. We must constantly defend our young creative people from the harmful ideological bullets flying from the right and the left. One of the most important problems on the literary agenda is drawing to the ranks various creative people who have still not been able to precisely define their place in literature, who have been avoiding the revolutionary movement, or who have been wrapped up in their personal development. We must think of ways to popularize the experiments of such writers in the areas of form, artistry and words by infusing them with revolutionary content and populism, and by bringing their art into line with social reality. Whether they wish to profit from experiments in surrealism, to appropriate the lessons of symbolism, or to follow the tradition of realism, is up to them. However, they shall avoid "creativity" that is contrary to the people's interests, that turns its bright thoughts black, that repeats like a parrot the propaganda line of the Chinese, Pakistani or U.S. governments. The heart of our literature is always wide open to pure people.

In order to develop Afghan literature, we must also increase our attention to the 'evelopment of literary studies and criticism. In this area, I think that utilizing the experience of the multinational Soviet literature, including Uzbek writers and scholars, will especially bear fruit. Studying today's literature by comparing it to the past, linking the ancient, life-giving traditions to modern, progressive tendencies, that is, correctly resolving the questions of tradition and innovation, are extremely necessary to the writing situation. Consequently, we have outlined measures for the thorough study of Afghan, Persian and Uzbek classical literatures. The most important of these measures calls for a 10-year study of the works of Alisher Navai. The works of our great compatriot will be widely distributed in Afghanistan for 10 years, and will be analyzed and studied with great attention. Needless to say, we will rely on and follow the achievements of Uzbek Soviet literary scholars in this area. In other words, scientific cooperation in the area of Navai studies is linked, in my opinion, to always friendly connections and will remain so linked from now on.

Thus, difficult and complex tasks still confront us Afghan writers. However, they are not insurmountable for us. Because, the broad masses of the people always support and inspire us, and we have many friends.

Now, I have been a guest in your country for several days and seen many places. Every encounter with representatives of your people has opened brand new worlds for me and raised my spirits. There is no greater force in the world than the friendship of peoples!

I am sure of another thing: we are going along the right and just path. All justice-loving peoples correctly understand us and help us in friendship. The mutual friendship between our two countries is based on the lofty feeling of justice. This friendship will bear an abundance of fruits. In the time I have been a guest in your republic, I have come to believe in this once wore.

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CSO: 1836/109

REGIONAL

WATER RESOURCES RESEARCHED AT TASHKENT LABORATORY

Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 5 Jul 81 p 2

[Interview with Economics Prof Dr Ergash Akramov, head of the laboratory for the problem of computing capital investments in irrigation of the Tashkent Economics Institute, by U. Fayziyeva: "Water is the Elixir of Life"]

[Text] At a time when the young Soviet state was just righting itself, the genius fixed his gaze upon the distant Hungry Steppe and signed the historic decree for the appropriation of funds that could reclaim these deserts and transform them into a region of treasures in the future. In subsequent years, many virgin lands were reclaimed and given water. The steppes are now subordinated to man and surreader the delicacies hidden in their bosoms. So that our lives will be more abundant and our tables forever full, it is important to make even more lands thrive, to make them rich, productive, and suckled by the sun. The earth always flourishes and reveals its beauty with water.

The extreme importance of questions like construction of water resources, reclamation of new lands, and economic efficiency of capital investments in them, led to the formation of a laboratory for the problem of computing capital investments in irrigation at the Tashkent Economics Institute in 1966 through the initiative of Professor Yu. Ye. Shenger. In 1975, our interviewee Ergash Akramov began to head this laboratory. When I went to the institute recently for the purpose of familiarizing myself with the work of the laboratory, we found ourselves sharing thoughts about a dissertation that would be defended in a few short days. This was not an official discussion. It would be more correct to call it a mutually friendly conversation. No sooner did the discussion end than we found a pretext to turn the conversation to the problem that interested both of us--water.

"It is no secret that the water deficiency has been felt in Central Asian and Kazakhstan agriculture in recent years," said Economics Prof Dr Ergash Akramov. "Almost 10 billion cubic meters of water are lost in the irrigation systems in Uzbekistan every year. About half of this occurs as a result of the irregular distribution of water to farms and its inefficient utilization. Of course, such irregular distribution of water has a negative effect on cotton yield. Research shows that when the water presently being released to the cotton fields is

reduced by 20 percent, the cotton yield falls by 7-8 percent. When irrigated at just half the normal level, the planned yield falls to 40 percent. That is why we must implement a series of organizational measures in water resources."

A great many scientific-research works are being carried out in the laboratory on such topics as expanding irrigated lands in the Uzbek SSR, improving the utilization of state irrigation systems, and increasing the productivity of water resources construction. These works have the productivity of water resources construction. These works have been presented to organizations involved in water resources construction and the more productive utilization of irrigated lands ever since the formation of the labortory. Due to conducting this research, three doctoral and more than ten candidate dissertations have been defended. The dissertation we were discussing is the most recent scientific advance achieved under the leadership of Prof N. Soatov. In addition, five monographs and brochures and a number of articles have been published. The role that research conducted at the laboratory plays in this is large.

"We must still solve many problems facing the further flourishing of the national economy," continues E. Akramov. "The time for realizing centuries-old dreams and testing them in practice has long since arrived. Especially now, the sensible utilization of land and water resources and the achievement of productivity in water resources construction are the most important problems. Were it possible, I would like to see every inch of land and every drop of water under our supervision."

His last statement evidently unlocked the lips of the other workers who sat thinking about water, for they began to share their thoughts one after another. According to them, the amount of water in the Amudarya and Syrdarya water basins was decreasing, and the work of opening new lands and reclaiming virgin lands was accelerating. That is the problem. To solve it, attention is being paid to two basic questions: improving the utilization of water through development of irrigation systems, and bringing to the Aral Sea a part of the water of Siberian rivers. Both of these are necessary for the progress of irrigation. Because of this, scientific research and planning works are being carried out in both directions. The "Soyuzgiprovodkhoz" at the All-Union level, and the "Sredasgiprovodkhlopol" and "Sredazgidroproyekt" institutes in Central Asia, are leading this work.

Now, workers in the laboratory are trying to solve the problems of comparing the regulation of the course of river waters, of choosing the easiest ways to levelop the irrigation systems in the Aral Sea basin, and of using an automated regulatory system to supervise the utilization of water resources. Their results are important in introducing accuracy into the work of fully utilizing waters of the Amudarya and Syrdarya, and in laying an economic basis for bringing a portion of the water of Siberian rivers to the Aral Sea. First of all, this raises the coefficient of regulating and utilizing river waters. Second, this creates the possibility of sensibly utilizing capital invested by the state. The aim is to eliminate the water deficiency. Its interest is such that everyone in the laboratory has his own task and his own job that he loves doing. To someone looking from the outside, these tasks might seem far from each other. In fact, it is not difficult to sense that the water problem is central to all the research being conducted.

The necessity of sensibly utilizing our own water resources until such time that a portion of the water of Siberian rivers is brought to Central Asia and Kazakhstan, and work being done in this area, were also mentioned. It is well-known that irrigation work in very many economies is not being carried out on a planned basis. Workers of the laboratory spoke about changing the operation of irrigation systems where the greatest amount of waste is being permitted so that water resources can be sensibly utilized. They stressed that advanced methods of irrigations—such as subterranean, rain and drip irrigation methods—were being tested in some regions, and that it was necessary to perfect irrigation systems in order to do this.

"All things considered, we are doing a lot of work and conducting many investigations on the nature of 'water', E. Akramov said, as though to conclude the topic that had been raised. "So, the 'preliminary' discussion of the dissertation has turned into this. Our primary objective is that we would like to benefit the national economy. That is why we have faith in the results of our work. In a word, we are optimists who believe in tomorrow. All right?!"

The range of scientific research being conducted by the laboratory is extensive. But, it is not merely on paper. It is never too late to do a good deed, as they say, and we have no doubt that their work will demonstrate the truth of this.

9439

CSO: 1836/110

TOO FEW CLASSROOM HOURS DEVOTED TO UZBEK LANGUAGE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OQITUVCHILAR GAZETASI in Uzbek 5 September 1981 in Uzbek publishes on p 2, a 1,200-word article Mustaqim Mirzaev (Honored Figure of Science fo UzSSR, Professor-Consultant of Bukhara Pedagogical Institute) and Asqar Chulamov (Candidate of Pedagogical Sciences, Docent of Bukhara Pedagogical Institute): "Let the Students Be Literate." The authors cite shortcomings in native language instruction in the republic and call for more hours to be devoted to this subject. Authors cite the official school program to support their claims of native language importance, but say that at the present time the task of teaching the native language so that students become literate in the broad sense of the word is not being met. A number of specific defects in native language instruction are cited (e.g., regarding phonetics, grammatical forms). A more general complaint is also expressed: "In a recent conversation we had with experienced teachers and methodologists who were gathered at the oblast institute for improving teacher qualifications, we were told of a lot of problems encountered in teaching the native language materials which are due to the fact that in certain grades, especially sixth and seventh, there are too few classroom hours. It is certainly quite difficult to provide full literacy in, for example, the 70 hours (2 hours/week) in the sixth grade in the study plan. Taking this into account, for this goal it would be approprinte to increase somewhat the weekly study load for the native tongue."

WRITER CRITICIZES QUALITY OF UZBEK LANGUAGE, LITERATURE TEACHING

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek
18 September 1981 carries on page 2 a 3,400-word article titled "The Heart's
Clean Slate" by the writer Otkir Hoshimov. Much of this publicistic article
is devoted to qualities which the writer feels teachers should possess. One
section supports the learning of Russian language since it provides access to
the treasury of world science. However, Hoshimov asks, is the teaching of Uzbek
language and literature sufficient? He mentions an acquaintance who teaches
the Uzbek language in a Russian secondary school and does not read Navai,
Ghafur Ghulom or Ovbek in the original; he laments that such people must be
the ones who teach Uzbek literature. Furthermore, the number of Uzbek language
and literature courses in the upper classes of secondary schools has considerably decreased in recent years. While it is true that this is the century of
the science and technology revolution, Hoshimov feels that it is a grave error
to neglect the humanities and that the teaching of Uzbek language and literature in secondary schools must be seriously examined.

EXPANSION OF UZBEK LANGUAGE TEACHING CLASSES PROMOTED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 1 September 1981 carries on page 2 a 400-word summary of an interview titled "Person With Initiative by correspondent O. Hakimov with Mahmudali Muhiddinov, director of the office of Uzbek language and literature at the Fergana Oblast Institute for Advanced Training of Teachers. Muhiddinov describes the innovative "open class" method of teaching Uzbek worked out by Sotvoldin Abdullayev in 1962. Since then, such "open classes" have multiplied in the oblast. Recently, a seminar was held to discuss further expansion. Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 23 September 1981 carries on page 2 a 500-word article titled "Delegate" by Mahmaduli Muhiddinov. In this article, Muhiddinov describes the career of Dilbarkhan Ghofurova who graduated from the Department of Uzbek Language and Literature at the Fergana State Pedinstitute in 1964 and practised the "open class" method of Uzbek language teaching in a Margilan city school for 21 years. Recently, she was elected a delegate to the 6th congress of republic teachers.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS DEPUTY MINISTER BLASTS SPECULATION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 3 July 1981 carries on page 4 a 1,000-word article titled "No Mercy for the Parasites" by N.

Ibragimov, UzSSR deputy minister of Internal Affairs. Ibragimov states that the Ministry of Internal Affairs is stepping up its campaign against those who engage in speculation in the republic. He discloses that during 1980 the state confiscated 782,216 rubles worth of goods and cash from speculators, and that so far in 1981 numerous successful operations have been carried out against speculators in agricultural products and consumer goods. Among six cases cited is that of a man and woman, workers at the Namangan Shoe Factory, who were arrested for selling gold jewelry. Investigators confiscated 30,000 rubles worth of gold items from the pair. Ibragimov especially condemns trade enterprise workers and leaders who hold back goods and sell them in the markets and on the streets.

UIGHUR LITERATURE A TOOL OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA ABROAD

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 31 July 1981 carries on page 7 a 1,100-word article titled "Brotherly Love" by Rozi Qodiriy, chairman of the Council of Uighur Literature attached to the UzSSR Writers Union. Qodiriy notes that although most Uighur writers and artists were born in East Turkestan, which is "the Uighurs' motherland," they have been able to practice their craft only in the USSR thanks to the Leninist nationality policy. The Uighur Literature Council was established in 1980 and has accepted the tasks of eradicating negative views toward Uighur literature and of waging the Ideological struggle against "our enemies." Many of the works of Uighur writers in Uzbekistan have been made accessible to students in East Turkestan. However, Qodiriy feels that if Uighur literature is to continue to develop, it will need the consistent support of other sections of the Writers Union. In response, he promises, Uighur writers will depict the greatness of the Soviet peoples in their works.

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 9 July 1981 carries on page 2 a 1,700-word article titled "Single Authority" by K. Kamalov, first secretary of the Karakalpak obkom. Kamalov discusses the work methods and priorities of the party organization in the autonomous republic. He emphasizes that an important factor in effective party leadership is the flow of party news from lower to higher party organizations, which facilitates dealing with workers' needs, implementing programs and monitoring their execution. In particular, he approves of strengthening those party organizations charged with the supervision of administrative, enterprise and trade union activities. Such control organizations now number 909 and are assisted by 2,030 people's control groups and 267 supervision stations, with a total of 21,200 workers. In all, the Karakalpak obkom now includes 1,250 primary organizations, 1,148 shop organizations, and 1,151 party groups.

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 16 August 1981 carries on page 4 a 1,200-word article by Abduqodir Muhitdinev, chairman of the Council of Veterans of Markhamat Rayon of Andizhan Oblast, titled "Who Needs Lavishness!" Muritdinov directs criticism toward people who continue to throw lavish parties for weddings, circumcision rites, and departures for the armed services. Excessive amounts of champagne, vodka and food are consumed; noise levels are intolerable, and shameful amounts of bread are wasted at such parties. The financial burden placed on parents who marry off their inildren in this fashion can lead to heavy debts and even criminal actions. Some old traditions are disgusting, in Muhitimov's opinion, such as that in which the father of the groom sends several thousand rubles to the bride's father [kalyn]. Another ceremony, called "the groom is summoned," entails the groom's going to his future in-law's where some 10 to 40 people are gathered and giving gifts to all of them. If the gr 's parents cannot afford these expenditures, the wedding is put off, much to the shame of the groom. Muhitdinov supports the idea of supervision of these parties by newly formed wedding councils, chairmen of village in mahalla [neighborhood] committees, and other leaders.

WEDDIN OWNERLS TO CONTROL EXCESSES

Editorial Report: Taskent SOVET PLEKISTONI in Uzbek 12 August 1981 carries on page and 75 -word article by K. Lutrillaveva, chairwoman of the Navoiy Mahalla (Neign or bod) committee in Kattakurgan City of Samarkand Oblast, titled Tremand of the Age. Lutrillayeva describes the modernization of city mahallas in recent times which has made it possible to implement mass political and cultural infectination works aimed at disseminating new Soviet festivals and trailtions. The of these new traditions is the supervision of weddings in whater countils. Thereas immerly, wedding parties lasted several cars, ost anomals sums if money, degenerated into drunklests, and produced rance is noise until all hours of the marning. Now such excessive eight. The chairman of the wedding council marshals the party, bans excessive littering and plate-breaking, sees that nice games are played, and calls a halt party at 11 m.

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In Nivener 1981, publishes on p l a 75-word item "Let's Introduce New Castoms"
In I a zeek Telegraphic Agency. In Tashkent on 16 November 1981, the
Total of fit is pagin lizing and Introducing New Teremonies and Customs Into

REPUBLIC 'ZNANIYE' SOCIETY CHAIRMAN ARIS LECTURE PROBLEMS

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek 11 July 1981 carries on page 2, an 800-word article titled "Important Tasks of Lecture Propaganda" by S. Ziyodullayev, chairman of the republic 'Znaniye' [Knowledge] Society. The article states that the society has a broad training system for lecturers in Uzbekistan, including 185 lecturer schools and 130 universities and schools for improving lecture skills. The society is also increasing its organizational links, particularly with the UzSSR Ministry of Health and the All-Union "Zoyuzuzbekgazprom" Production Administration. Nonetheless, writes Ziyodullayev, much work remains to be done in the area of planning and managing the thematic orientation of lecture propaganda. Neither the quality nor the effectiveness of current lectures answers the growing demands. The chairman considers that the cause of these shortcomings is that organizations do not pay sufficient attention to "the social, educational and age characteristics of various categories of the population."

STUDY OF PRE-SOVIET CENTRAL ASIAN LITERATURES PROPOSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 18 September 1981, No 25 publishes on p 3 a 900-word report by Mahmud Sa"diy, "Lens of the Eye." Sa"diy reports on some of his meetings with writers and scholars in Dushanbe during the Days of UzSSR Literature and Art in TaSSR and presents an interview with Tajik writer Fatih Niyaziy. Among those Sa"diy met in the sister republic were Uzbek writers and poets living in Tajikistan. Some suggestions about the study of literature were presented to Sa"diy by Candidate of Philological Sciences Amirbek Abibov (a scientific worker of the Oriental Institute of the Tajikistan Academy of Sciences) and Candidate of Philological Sciences Usman Karimov (a scientific worker of the Rudakiy Language and Literature Institute of the Tajikistan Academy of Sciences). "According to the thinking of these scholars, the study of literature has arrived at such a stage that now the study of literatures of Central Asian peoples prior to the Great October as it is now divided into Uzbek literature, Tajik literature and so forth is not giving good results. It is appropriate to research the literature of the peoples of Central Asia as one whole literary process. Furthermore, these scholars say that it would be beneficial to study not just the literature of Central Asian peoples prior to the October Revolution as one whole literary process, but, more generally, the literatures of the East. For the literatures written in Persian and Turkic languages have been inextricably linked with each other since ancient times. Very many of our writers were bilingual, i.e., they created equally well in two languages. Consequently, their creative work does not belong to just one particular people, but to several peoples, i.e., it is international." The second part of Sa"diy's article consists of an interview with Fatih Niyaziy, a Tajik writer who began his career writing in Uzbek in the 1920's. The title of article refers to an anaology which Niyaziy makes between the lens of an eye and the feeling of friendship (i.e., if it is not taken care of, it can be destroyed).

UKRAINIAN POET CRITICIZES POOR TRANSLATIONS OF CENTRAL ASIAN POETRY

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKESTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 23 October 1981, publishes on p 3 a 1,600 word article by Pavlo Movchan (Ukrainian poet) "Sounds of the Ancient Orient in Our Songs" devoted to the translation of poetry from native languages of Central Asia into Russian and Ukrainian. The author maintains that those who translate Oriental classical literature must know the characteristics of the Orient. Besides being skillful, a good translator must also know the history, culture and literature of the people whose work he is translating. For translators of Oriental poetry a historical approach to translation is as vital as air and water is to living things. Movchan complains of a mistaken approach which has been practiced in the USSR in the field of translation. This is, for example, translating poetic works from Central Asia and the Baltic republics in the same pattern. A struggle against this shortcoming must be waged. Making this mistake leads to causing a loss of respect for national poetry and sows discord among peoples. People lose respect for the poet being translated and this gives a bad name to the literature of an entire people. On the other hand, it is not true, as Sergei Chuprinin recently wrote in LITERATURNAIA GAZETA, that there is some antagonism between the poet-translator and the poet-scholar. The poettranslator must at the same time be a poet-scholar.

POOR TRANSLATIONS OF CENTRAL ASIAN POETRY

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek 16 October 1981, No 29, publishes on p 3 a 600-word article by Erkin Vahidov "When the Stars Come Together." Vahidov complains of the poor quality of translations of Central Asian and Kazakh poets into Russian. He places much of the blame on publishing houses. First they decide to publish a work in Russian translation and only afterwards set about finding a translator. So a work which a poet may have spent his life on is translated in a few months. In order to get this done, translators resort to word for word translations. Many people speak of the need to know the language from which one is translating. It may be better for translators to study their own native language more than to get just a superficial knowledge of the original language. In the art of translation it is just as important to know the fine points of one's own language as it is to have an imperfect knowledge of the other language.

INTERVIEW WITH KAMIL IKRAMOV, SON OF FORMER UZBEK PARTY LEADER

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek 11 September 1981 on page 3 carries a 1,700-word interview with Kamil Ikramov, son of Akmal Ikramov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan who was executed in 1938, and a prominent Russian-language writer of Uzbekistan today. The introduction to the interview notes that selected works of Kamil Ikramov are being published and that his works have been translated into French, English, Azerbaijani, Lectish, Estonian, Tajik and other languages. In the interview Ikramov speaks of his novel in progress about Uzbekistan heroes working in the Nonchernorem region. While working on this novel, he became interested in the problem of diverting water from Siberian rivers to Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The 26th CPSU Congress called for continuing work on a scientific plan for this great task. Ikramov, who says he has been studying this problem for 2 years, believes that Siberia is necessary not just for strengthening the overall economy of the country, but for preserving the large scale ecological balance as well. The correspondent asked Ikramov. "Isn't this, after all, Gosplan's problem? What do you have to say about writers getting actively involved in real life?" Ikramov responded that such diverse writers as Navoi, Shakespeare, Gorky and Hamza became involved in real life problems. He pointed to the demographic dynamics of Central Asia as making the water shortage especially severe. The problem may find a reflection in one of Ikramov's future works. The correspondent asked if it is true that K. Ikramov is writing a work about his father and if so, when such a work might appear. K. Ikramov: "That is a very important task. I have many books, but [only] one father. This book must be better than all my other books." He added that writing wuch a book demands thoroughly thinking through the life of his father, the many archival materials, memories and the recently-published 3-volume selected works which all reflect his work; that such a book also demands weaving them all together with the present. Ikramov concludes the interview with some glowing comments about his father.

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